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The

Succession

of

Bemba Chiefs

A Guide for District Officers

by

W. V. Brelsford

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Preface.

Since I completed this paper Chitimukulu Kanyanta has died, in August, 1943. At least a year will pass after the death before a successor begins to inherit, and, as Mwamba too has been dangerously ill for some time, it is likely that there will be great changes of personnel throughout the main lines of Bemba chieftainships within the next year or so. The inheritance of a big chieftainship sometimes takes as long as two years. This gives ample time for the resolving of any personal or tribal disputes and some are sure to occur. The claims of the third branch of the clan will, on this occasion, cause some debate.

The fact that Kanyanta has died does not affect the discussions in this paper. For it is the principles and the precedents of succession that I have tried to emphasise, and the usefulness of this work will extend, I hope, far beyond the deaths of existing chiefs. Much has been written about the Bemba but no full and thorough study of the succession of chiefs has yet been published. But the tribe is the largest in Northern Rhodesia and the typical movement of chiefs from one district to another on succession is a factor that affects the work of officials of many departments. So that though the subject may make dull reading its importance to Government justifies a detailed study.

It is necessary to say something of the attached genealogical table. The table compiled by the late E. H. B. Goodall was prepared in 1910–12. It is a thorough piece of work but it is eleven feet long and thus unsuitable for reproduction in this paper. A smaller edition was prepared during the Willis enquiry in 1924. The table I give here is adapted from this latter one with amendments to bring it up to date. It deals only with the present lineage. District Note Books and works by Missionaries contain many long lists of Chitimukulus but no one list agrees with another about the number of Paramounts that have reigned since the dim past. Since this is a modern discussion and not a historical study the restriction of the table to the verified and known chiefs of the present lineage is adequate. The Paramount just deceased was thus Chitimukulu VIII of the present lineage, though some writers would make him the thirty-second of present and traditional history.

The letter and figure following each proper name in this paper are given for ease of reference to the corresponding line and place in the genealogical table.

I am most grateful for the help and comments of Father Etienne of the White Fathers Missions. He is an expert of many years standing on the Bemba and his assistance has been invaluable to me in clarifying the principles of succession.

I must also thank Dr. Max Gluckman, the Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for important criticisms and suggestions on the earlier draft of this paper.

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Luwingu,
March, 1944.

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Introduction.

The Bemba, the largest tribe in Northern Rhodesia, have been studied extensively and intensively of recent years and a large body of published material is available for consultation. I do not think it necessary then to preface these notes with any sociological introduction. A list of some of the relevant works is given at the end. The two by Dr. Richards are especially concerned with the political structure of the tribe. (1), (2). 114

The appointment of chiefs lies primarily with the Paramount in Council, which is the Superior Native Authority, but as is natural, Government retain the power of overriding this organisation at any time. This power is normally exercised through the Council and has taken the form on several recent occasions of very full discussions between the Council and Government before a final choice was made. Government has also encouraged the Paramount and his Council to consider a reduction in the number of petty chiefs, with the result that they have recommended that certain of them no longer be recognised. 622 643

It is essential for the Government to keep a strict watch over appointments because each one affects not only one particular chieftainship but usually several others as well. For, generally speaking, the heirachy of Bemba chieftainships is graded, in several distinct sections, and the death of one means not only the promotion of a lower chief into the gap but often several moves up of still lower chiefs, resulting in the appointment of only one new man, and he the lowest. The moves often spread over several administrative districts and one of the aims of this paper is to give District Officers some indication of how the main moves are made and what change of chiefly personnel they may expect. I hope also it will give them some indication as to whether personal or tribal politics are entering into and prejudicing appointments. Such events are very common, because, although the system is complicated it is also very flexible, and personal animosities and friendships have often upset what appeared to be a traditional sequence of promotion. 622

The system of succession is very intricate to the outsider and a study of it is essential. There is no doubt that if Government did not discuss nominations with the Paramount and his council, and lend support when necessary, the various successions would present a very tangled skein to the ordinary District Officer. For not only do the previously mentioned influences operate but the hereditary councillors, *Bakabilo*, who form the ultimate authority, have often switched inheritances out of their course, and from older branches of the clan to younger ones. These actions have not only disinherited incapable or objectionable heirs but have sometimes been made with the object of giving good posts to distant members of younger branches, so that all members of the clan can share honour. Such power is easy to abuse and the Council is, of course, open to influence. Unless we fully understand the flexibility of a system that attempts to satisfy the demands of such a large clan, many choices of successor may appear very puzzling. At the same time this very characteristic also could give Government both opportunity and precedent for exercising influence. In spite of the many apparent aberrations from the rigid principles of succession, the tribal elders do keep very careful check on all the cross currents of successful 622 645

622 influence and upon the discretionary alterations of descent, and they always
645 come back again on to the main line, at least as regards the royal clan, after any short dash up a side line that has been made necessary by influence or by politics.

121 Government at the moment cannot follow all these threads, and at least once in the past an enquiry had to be held to disentangle them. This was in 1924 and I understand that it took Mr. Willis, the Provincial Commissioner, Kasama, nearly nine months to collect the evidence and give a ruling as to who should be Chitimukulu VIII. The object of this paper then is to provide an administrative guide not only to what should happen normally, but also to point out moves that contain the germs of future complications. I deal very fully with the principles of succession so that when the present holders of chieftainships are dead the traditional rules expounded here can still be consulted. I also point out tendencies that might simplify and stabilise the succession to the Paramountcy if the Superior Native Authority ever come to consider such objectives. Finally I indicate which are traditionally the least important of the chieftainships, as this has a bearing on the present Government policy of encouraging the abolition of redundant posts.

643 There is not one direct line of promotion through all Bemba chieftainships culminating in the Paramountcy, but there are several distinct branches even in the royal lines, and some of them are not usually connected by way of interchange of personnel. Some branches of the royal clan are for practical purposes complete in themselves, but there are others which are connected one with the other. No wonder the system is involved.

622 There are at the moment of writing 32 Bemba chiefs acknowledged by Government, and most of them are subject to change and promotion along one of the several branches of chieftainship.

611 Descent and succession are matrilineal. The totem of the Paramount
622 and other chiefs descended from sisters of Paramounts is the crocodile, and these men are known as *Mwinang'andu* (sing). I refer to them simply as the royal Chiefs. But some of the most materially important chieftainships of to-day are not held by *Benang'andu* (plural) and there are grown-up men of royal blood working on the mines and elsewhere who will never hold a Bemba chieftainship. The fact of belonging to the royal clan makes a man eligible for a chieftainship, but whether he gets one depends upon whether he is born of a senior royal sister. For there never were enough chieftainships to go round all the clan. I use the word sister frequently as a matter of convenience but the word mother represents the ultimate test. A man takes his seniority from his mother, consequently in a large clan it is only the sons of senior *namfumu* (mothers of chiefs) who can expect to get a chieftainship.

By senior I mean genealogically senior: that is, relative nearness to the mothers on the main vertical line to the left of the table and then closeness of position along the horizontal line of brothers and cousins of the same generation.

This point will become clearer as we go on. Succession is traced from *namfumu* to *namfumu* and the order of precedence is the order of the mother. The sons of a senior *namfumu* are senior to those of a junior *namfumu* although the sons of the latter may be older in years. The various branches of the clan each start with a woman whose brothers are royal

chiefs, hence my use of the word sister to define a branch of the clan. It is essential to stress that the words senior and junior refer to the genealogical position of the sister or *namfumu* and to her closeness to the earlier mothers and sisters. The word sister is particularly apt as the succession of the *namfumu* is from sister to sister when possible or to a classificatory sister, i.e., first cousin. 611 622

For the benefit of scholars I would insist before going on that this is not a complete history of Bemba chieftainship. I try to deal only with present day successions and I insert only sufficient recent history to explain why certain moves were made, or in order to indicate what should happen in the future. A minimum of tribal history is necessary to prove certain points. 121

Section 1.—THE PARAMOUNTCY.

000 In order to understand fully the principles involved it will be necessary to give a brief history of succession and also to discuss in some detail the relative positions of the mothers of chiefs. But first, a few introductory remarks will indicate the general and traditional ideas on how the succession works.

611 643 644 Inheritance is matrilineal throughout: the most senior son of the most senior mother becoming Paramount Chief Chitimukulu. The mothers bear traditional names such as Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu, as in the reigning lineage at present. Sometimes Chandamukulu is the elder, and sometimes the other.

At the moment of writing the eldest of three *namfumu* (mothers of chiefs) is called Chandamukulu, the second is Mukukamfumu and a third is Mushimba. Seniority in sons follows that of the mother. The sons of junior sisters have reached to the Paramountcy on several occasions in the past but only when the inheritance has first passed through the sons of senior sisters. The post of Paramount went three times in succession to sons of junior, second sisters, and Nkula D14 of the present day always asserts that this altered the rule, and he states his intention to follow this up with his own claim when Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1 dies. But, as I shall show, it is a futile claim and is not supported by traditional rules.

The Paramountcy passes through all the sons of the eldest sister before passing on to the sons of the next sisters. There is also a definite insistence that all the sons of sisters of the same generation must be passed through before the line switches to a younger generation of any branch of the family. The one generation may include half-brothers as well as cousins. Nkolemfumu D6 and Mpepo D10 are half-brothers from different fathers.

Thus it was possible in the past and may be possible in the distant future, if this custom is strictly maintained, for sons of junior sisters to become Paramount again.

The above sounds complicated but all it means is that the Bemba genealogical tree as regards succession to the Paramountcy is read horizontally from left to right across the branches of the royal clan. (I shall discuss later whether such reading should stop with the last offspring of any two branches, or go right across to include the offspring of three or more sisters.) Such tables are made out with the members of the same generation all along one line and normally it is easy to see who is in the succession or not. It passes from brother to brother in a genealogical generation and when that horizontal line is exhausted it drops to the oldest nephew of the senior woman in the next generation. Then it moves across that generation.

(*a*) History of Succession.

643 173 The genealogical table begins not with the earliest Bemba history, but at a distinct break in succession that occurred in the early 19th Century. I wish to commence this history at that point. Earlier history, from the

[see pp. 44-50 — Analyst]

point of view of succession, had been, in the period immediately preceeding the present lineage, mainly of the rise of a chieftainship Mwamba, that had been held in succession by two younger brothers of two Paramounts. Neither of the two Mwambas ever became Paramount. Some authorities say that Mwamba became so powerful that he would not deign to become Chitimukulu, and in fact he fought against his elder brother on at least one occasion. There are also legends of Paramounts being deposed by force by various brothers and nephews and also of wars between various claimants (3). 643 173

I begin this history with that of a usurper. About 1850 (?) the Chitimukulu was Chimbola (Chitinta). His mother was a Chandamukulu and they both lived in Lubemba (headquarters of the tribe). The family of the younger sister, Mukukamfumu, lived farther south in the Kasama district, and this latter branch was very wealthy as it obtained much ivory from what is now Kabanda's Bisa district in Chinsali. The Lubemba people envied them and a fifth column element invited them to attack Chimbola, who was a cruel, bloodthirsty chief as well as being a poor provider of wealth. The Chandamukulu branch said that their show of resistance would be nullified because they would take the heads out of their arrows. The attack was led by Chileshye, also called Chepela because he had one arm shorter than the other. He was the eldest son of Mukukamfumu and thus cousin (classificatory brother) of Chimbola, but at that time he held no chiefly title. Chileshye also collected the Bisa of Kabanda to help him. The attack succeeded, and Chimbola and his family were driven across the Chambeshi (4). Chileshye Chepela became Chitimukulu in place of his cousin and his sister in due course took the title Chandamukulu I in the new lineage. It should be noted that his mother did not change her name.

I complete this story elsewhere in the relevant section.

Chitimukulu I.

So at the beginning of this new lineage we find Chileshye Chepela A2 as Chitimukulu I, a post obtained by force.

There are a few interesting points to notice about this horizontal line of Chileshye A2. His next brother took the title of Mwamba, and the history of Mwamba is from now on entangled with that of the Paramountcy. There had been only two Mwambas earlier than this and the second, Mwamba Kashampupo, had died before Chimbola, his brother, was driven out. (Still to-day there is a village Mwamba Wamatengele in Chimbola's area but it is now inherited by Chimbola's eldest grandson.) Mutale A3 then became Mwamba I of the new lineage. He died in 1859 before Chitimukulu Chileshye A2 but he was not succeeded by Bwembia A6 because this man was almost dumb and was a little simple minded too. So he was passed over and the senior nephew of the next generation, Kapalaula B3, became Mwamba II.

Chitimukulu II.

Chitimukulu Chileshye Chepela A2 died in 1861 (?) and this time Bwembia A6 did claim and obtain the Paramountcy in front of Mwamba B3. It is difficult to understand why Bwembia A6 should have been allowed to take the Paramountcy when he was not considered fit to become Mwamba. The spiritual status of the Paramountcy may indicate why even a fool should be given it, though in the past, and now as I am about to relate, this had not saved Paramounts from being turned off their stools

643 173 nor heirs from being superseded. Another version of the story is that Bwembia A6 refused to become Mwamba as he was expecting Chitimukulu A2 to die shortly. Also, the Mwamba was not then the stepping stone to the Paramountcy as it is now, so there was perhaps no compulsion for Bwembia A6 to take that post.

However, Bwembia A6 became Paramount but he was only left in peace for a few months. The young nephew Chitapankwa B4 was an aggressive character and neither he nor the people in general liked being ruled over by a fool. So in 1866 he called upon his brother Mwamba Kapalaula B3 to lead a rebellion and take the stool himself. Mwamba B3 refused, so Chitapankwa B4 led the attack himself and chased away Bwembia A6 to a garden village where he died shortly afterwards. He was buried at Mwalule like all Paramounts.

Chitimukulu III.

Chitapankwa B4 thus became Chitimukulu III ahead of his brother Mwamba Kapalaula B3 and so gives an example of the succession not following the direct line. Chitapankwa B4 jumped over the right heir and once he had chased away Bwembia A6 he kept the Paramountcy himself. Mwamba II Kapalaula B3 died of small-pox in 1887; having made no attempt to claim his proper post of Paramount.

Chitapankwa B4 began his rule with series of illnesses which were attributed, of course, to the fact that he was a usurper, but he lived them down and developed into one of the strongest of Bemba chiefs. In a twenty-one year reign he fought against the Ngoni, the Lungu, Tabwa and Mambwe. Bemba country increased considerably in size and Chitapankwa B4 increased the number of chieftainships. He made one nephew Chikwanda into Chikwanda I, a new chiefly name, and recreated the Nkolemfumu (see later) for a junior nephew. Then he sent his brother Kapalakashya B6 to turn the old Ngoshye family off the throne of the Nkula-Chewe and seize it for himself. (See Section 2.) Kapalakashya B6 thus became Nkula I of the new lineage. Chitapankwa B4 died in 1887 shortly after but in the same year as his elder brother Mwamba Kapalaula B3.

Chitimukulu IV.

Sampa Mulenda Nkula I B6 rightly succeeded his brother as Chitimukulu IV since Mwamba B3 was dead, and from now on the succession to the Paramountcy has been regular right up until the present time. Although there have been disputes about the Paramountcy which I must relate, and the Mwamba succession, now so intimately connected with the Paramountcy, shows many breaks in the direct line.

When Mwamba Kapalaula B3 died it would appear that the right man to succeed was Sampa Mulenda Nkula I B6. But Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 died only a few months after Mwamba so Sampa Mulenda Nkula I B6 did not become Mwamba. It must be remembered that the bodies of royal chiefs are kept for sometimes a year before burial and that the new chief is not appointed until after burial. So that in a case like this one when the Paramount and his successor die within a short period the next heir naturally takes the higher post.

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But there is a puzzle concerning the post of Mwamba. If the succession to the Mwamba was to follow the principles of that to the Paramountcy the brothers or cousins should inherit first, so that Chimfwembe Makumba B7 (Mulenga B8 died young) should have become Mwamba when Mwamba Kapalaula B3 died. The fact that Chimfwembe Makumba B7 did not become Mwamba displays another irregularity of succession in what had become a most important chieftainship. I use the word irregularity because here, as in most matrilineal tribes, the succession to chieftainships is normally to brothers before nephews. (The Mwamba was still in its infancy as the second most important post and both by historical accident and by personal feud or choice it has happened that not in any lineage until in the person of the present Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1 is there an instance of a Mwamba ever becoming Paramount.)

In the old lineage there had only been two Mwambas, the second being nephew to the first and succeeding by necessity because there were no other brothers. In the present lineage, as I have described, Mwamba I Mutale Mulenga A3 had been succeeded too by his nephew Kapalaula Mwamba II B3. It is not possible to say then that the Mwamba was the stepping stone to the Paramountcy yet and there was thus no traditional necessity for Chimfwembe Makumba B7 to become Mwamba when Kapalaula B3 died. It may even be that a sort of tradition had arisen that Mwamba must be succeeded by a nephew. Perhaps the real reason was that given to me by the councillors—that at a time when the Bemba were at war with the surrounding tribes, and when Ngoni raids had to be met, it was essential to have a strong warrior as Mwamba. Chimfwembe B7 was a weakling and for this reason he obtained neither the Mwamba nor the Nkula. So Kapalaula B3 was succeeded by his senior nephew Mubanga Chipoya C2 as Mwamba III and he was to prove one of the strong men of Bemba history.

It is said that a dispute arose between Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 just before he died and Nkula I Sampa B6 over this appointment. The former pressing the claims of Mubanga Chipoya C2 (Chanda C1 having died earlier) and the latter advocating the rights of another nephew Chanika C7. Neither Mutale Sichansa C3 nor Chikwanda C6 seem to have been considered. Whether this story is true or not cannot be stated definitely, but I give it, as it may explain the fact that the reign of Chitimukulu Sampa B6 was marked by a life long feud with Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2, the man whose appointment Sampa B6 had opposed. The feud resulted in many bloody battles between uncle and nephew and it is said that a Chief Shimumbi tried unavailingly to stop it. Mwamba C2 seems to have been the one to gain for he extended his sway at the expense of Chitimukulu by taking over a large area on the Chibili stream in what is now Kasama district.

Chitimukulu V.

The feud only ended with the death of Chitimukulu Sampa Mulenda B6 in 1895. But Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2 was not yet finished for he announced his intention of taking the Paramountcy himself. He sent a warning to the rightful heir, the weakling Chimfwembe B7, telling him to keep away. Chimfwembe B7 was not strong enough to fight for the Paramountcy so he called in Chikwanda C6 to help him.

This is interesting as it seems to emphasise again the tendency to dichotomy that is now a feature of Bemba chiefly politics. We have Mubanga Chipoya C2 of the family to the left of the table attempting to usurp

643 173 the Paramountcy from an uncle to the right of the table. The story of Chitapankwa B4 and Chitimukulu Bwembia A6 is almost repeated. The tension between senior and junior branches of the clan is a constant feature of the whole of the history of this and earlier lineages.

Mwamba C2 had not yet moved to the Paramount's village so Chimfwembe B7 and Chikwanda C6 went there with a force and took away all the deceased's wives. Chimfwembe B7 meant to carry out at least one portion of the inheritance ceremonies. But Mwamba Mubanga C2 was immediately on his trail. He caught up the raiding party and slaughtered most of them. Chikwanda C6 managed to escape to his own home in Mpika. But Chimfwembe B7 was brought back as a captive to Mwamba's village. Mwamba C2 kept him tied up as a slave and ill-treated him cruelly until the captive, the man who should have been Paramount, began to show signs of dying. Then the *Bakabilo* (hereditory councillors), and indeed the people too, began to get frightened. To depose a Paramount was one thing but to kill him was a risky business because a Paramount has very powerful spiritual associations with the land. If Chimfwembe B7 had been killed by Mwamba Mubanga C2 then perhaps ill luck would have fallen on the land and the people. That is the explanation given to me by the councillors. (Coxhead says that Chimfwembe B7 gave a lot of land to Mwamba and that Mwamba C2 was virtually ruler of the Bemba (5).)

So this extraordinary incident was closed. Chimfwembe B7 was released and allowed to inherit the Paramountcy as was his right. His reign was comparatively uneventful after this exciting beginning but during it there developed a complication of the Mwamba post whose effects on Paramountcy claims are still being felt to-day in tribal politics, so it will be necessary for me to describe it in some detail. The incidents will further explain the principles of succession to the Paramountcy and also illustrate the point that the claims of one generation must be satisfied before the descent drops to another line.

Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2 died in 1898. At first there does not seem to have been any question of a nephew succeeding him as had happened in the past. His brother Mutale Sichansa Nkula II C3 was already dead. The Nkula succession had gone horizontally to a cousin, Chikwanda Nkula III C6 and if the Mwamba was to go the same way this man Chikwanda C6 was the next heir. It is said that Chikwanda Nkula III C6 refused the post. This may be true because he later gave up the Nkula to return to his beloved Mpika salt pans. But there is another version of why Chikwanda C6 did not become Mwamba, and that is that he was chased away, or the post refused to him, by Chandamukulu Kangwa Chonya C4. This is the more likely story for the Chandamukulu was also to exert her influence against Ponde C10 and I have already described how Chikwanda C6 had fought against the deceased Mwamba C2.

The Mwamba had gradually being building up power, and under Mubanga Chipoya C2 had been powerful enough to fight and win ground from one Paramount and almost to kill another. I think then here we have a continuation of the split in the clan, with Chandamukulu Kangwa Chonya C4 trying to hang on to the power built up by her brother. What is certain is that what she did and said seemed to carry weight, whereas Chimfwembe Makumba B7 the Paramount, continues to appear as a weak, colourless individual who took no part whatever in the Mwamba succession dispute.

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Chikwanda Nkula C6 did not become Mwamba. Chanika C7 was dead and so was Mutale C9, so the next man on the horizontal line was Ponde C10 and he did want the Mwamba chieftainship definitely. But he had earlier invoked the dislike of Mwamba Chipoya C2 by refusing to take the post of Nkolemfumu, which he said was not big enough for him. Also Ponde C10 had refused to attend Mwamba C2 during his last illness. Then he had sent the sick Mwamba C2 some medicine which Mwamba C2 had duly rubbed on himself and had promptly died. Ponde C10 was naturally accused of witchcraft and he refused to come and answer the charges. He had actually gone in to Mwamba's country immediately after the death intending to take over at once, but Chandamukulu C4 objected vigorously to this claimant too so Government asked him to go away until the succession was settled. He did, but then he refused to come in to answer his accusers on the witchcraft or poisoning charges. When Young and McKinnon, the Government officials, went up to the Kalungu river to fetch him he turned his forces against the Government's and in the ensuing battle he was defeated and fled. This was the reason that Ponde C10 did not obtain the Nkula chieftainship either, shortly afterwards. Two years elapsed after Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2's death then Codrington, the Administrator held an *ndaba* at Kasama to settle the succession. Ponde C10 had by this time re-established himself sufficiently to be able to attend safely, but the Chandamukulu family brought up all his misdeeds and still persisted in their accusations of witchcraft. Public opinion was still so much against him that Codrington had to accept the Chandamukulu refusal and look round for the next senior.

Ponde C10 was the last of the line on the right of the table so the succession switched right over to the left again and dropped a line to the senior nephew, the eldest son of a lower generation but of the senior mother Chandamukulu Kangwa Chonya C4. This was Kanyanta D1 and he was therefore appointed Mwamba in 1900 in front of his uncles Chikwanda C6 and Ponde C10.

Chitimukulu VI.

Chitimukulu Chimfwembe Makumba B7 lived to a ripe old age. When he died then in 1911, Kanyanta D1 as Mwamba was next in importance but he was two lines down, and on the line above him were still his senior uncles, the two brothers Chikwanda C6 and Ponde C10. They were a generation above Kanyanta D1. So Chikwanda C6 claimed the Paramountcy and rightfully got it as Chitimukulu VI.

Chitimukulu VII.

When he died in 1911 Ponde C10 claimed the Paramountcy and, having lived down his past, also rightfully got it as Chitimukulu VII.

There are no records of any objections being raised against Chikwanda C6 becoming Paramount, nor to Ponde C10, although they were from a junior branch of the clan and although the Chandamukulu branch had kept these two men from the Mwamba. Of course the presence of a European administration that had already displayed its ability to stop tribal wars, would prevent, from now on, any recurrence of the inter-clan fights that had taken place in the past. Moreover I have described how serious a matter it is to keep rightful heirs off the stool. Bwembia A6 a fool, had been allowed to inherit before he was chased away.

643 173 Mwamba Kapalaula B3 had certainly been kept off the stool by a more powerful brother, but a spiritual fear had forced a later Mwamba C2 to allow a weakling Chimfwembe B7 to inherit. So now two men, Chikwanda C6 and Ponde C10, both of whom had been at loggerheads with the senior branch all their lives were allowed to inherit the Paramountcy without a murmur from the Chandamukulu branch. These incidents seem to emphasise that the succession to the Paramountcy should go direct and horizontally whatever has happened to the Mwamba.

All this time Kanyanta D1 was sitting as Mwamba, throughout the reign of three Chitimukulus. This is interesting as proving that although Mwamba is regarded as the second in power and honour, he need not be the right man to succeed in every case as Paramount. It is relationship that counts not possession of a particular chieftainship. When Ponde C10 died in 1922 there had thus been three successive Paramounts from the right side of the table, all sons of second sisters. The Nkula branch of the clan claimed that this had the effect of perpetuating the descent downwards in the one branch and only horizontally in that one family, and Nkula Bwalya D12 claimed the Paramountcy on the death of Ponde C10. But after a big enquiry that lasted 9 months held by Mr. Willis the Provincial Commissioner, Kasama, it was decided that Kanyanta D1 was the right man. (Chisela C12 had been killed earlier.) There was no doubt about this. The three Chitimukulus from second sisters had rightly obtained the post by following the rule that the post must go through all the men of the same generation before going downwards. This came out very clearly in the evidence given at the enquiry. Kanyanta D1 said that he had not been able to claim so long as his senior uncles, Chikwanda C6 and Ponde C10, from a more senior generation, were alive. But now they were dead he could claim. He said that the fact that these two men had not obtained the Mwamba in turn was an irrelevant fact when the succession to the Paramountcy was concerned. Kanyanta D1 was correct in his statement and he was the next Chitimukulu, because Ponde C10 was the last of his generation to the right of the table and the descent had to switch back and drop a line to the first on the left again, still rigidly following the rule that I have explained, and Kanyanta D1 was the eldest son of the senior *namfumu*.

Nkulu D12 argued that since the last three Paramounts had come from the right of the line, from second sisters, a tradition was thereby established. But the elders of the tribe disagreed with him and insisted that the descent was still horizontal as the appointment of those three men still kept the rule.

Chitimukulu VIII.

Kanyanta D1 was appointed Chitimukulu VIII in 1924 and is still alive.* His first brother Luatila D2 was dead so the next brother Nkolemfumu D3 became Mwamba V.

These two appointments were such that had not before occurred either in the old lineage or in the new. A Mwamba had become Chitimukulu and the Mwamba had been succeeded by a brother not a nephew.

I have left a full history of the Nkula for later sections so as not to confuse the main issue.

* He has died since the completion of this paper.

Conclusions.

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From this brief history it is possible to pick out several guiding threads. It is obvious that to the Paramountcy the succession is horizontal and direct, but that the system has broken down on several occasions. War has broken the succession definitely once and started a new lineage. An aggressive figure, Chitapankwa B4, turned a foolish Paramount from his stool and disturbed the succession by keeping the post himself instead of allowing the right man, Kapalaula B3, to succeed. The line to the Paramountcy has been rigidly kept since Chitimukulu III but it was nearly broken by Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2. No doubt had not a European administration arrived there would have been a constant recurrence of interclan wars.

Another guiding line is that there is no sequence of chiefly names leading to the Paramountcy. Only relationship, place on the genealogical table and seniority count, and a new Paramount may step up from being Mwamba or Nkula or from being a man with no earlier post. There may be a temporary series of names, one following the other, such as is occurring on line D1, D3, D5, D6, D10, at the moment. But, as I show later, the sequence of Chitimukulu, Mwamba, Nkolemfumu, Mpepo need not necessarily be a permanent order of names to the Paramountcy.

It should also be pointed out that for the various reasons given the succession to the Mwamba has been irregular. Only the present Mwamba V D3 inherited directly and without complications. But the principle of horizontal succession has appeared on each occasion and there was some historical or personal explanation of why it was not followed. The Mwamba has grown into the next most important post and the succession in the future will follow still more closely that of the Paramount.

(*b*) The Mothers of Chiefs (*Namfumu*).

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Since the seniority of the chief depends absolutely upon the place of the mother in the genealogical table it is essential to get a clear view of the position of these mothers, or sisters of Paramounts.

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Historically, right up until recent years, there have been only two hereditary names of mothers of Paramounts. These names are Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu. There are several other women who have borne Paramounts but their names have not become hereditary. Nor have they themselves inherited one of the two traditional names of the queen mothers for it is not essential for a woman to have a title in order to bear a Paramount. They may have died before it was their turn to inherit. For example in the present lineage Kanyanta Bwalya A4 died before she could succeed her sister Chandamukulu Chilufya Mulenga A1. The method of succession too deprives many women of the hereditary titles. For the succession to each name is separate and is from sister to sister, or, if there are no sisters, to the granddaughter. Daughters then, except in special circumstances, such as I shall indicate, would not normally succeed to the traditional name of their mother. Although the sons of these daughters would retain their seniority over the sons of the granddaughter in spite of the fact that the granddaughter held the traditional name of a queen-mother. The rules of succession for the sons are not broken because the inheritance of the mother name usually jumps a generation.

643 644 551 Another point to emphasise in connection with these two traditional names of Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu is that there is no change or advance from one name to the other as with chiefs, for, strictly speaking, all royal houses are equal and it is only possible to state that precedence is by seniority. A Mukukamfumu never becomes a Chandamukulu for the simple reason that one name is as good as the other. The sons of a senior Mukukamfumu are nearer to the Paramountcy than those of a junior Chandamukulu. But whether the sons of this senior Mukukamfumu ever do get the Paramountcy depends merely upon whether the sons of a still more senior *namfumu* outlive hers. We hear of the big house (*ng'anda ikalamba*) and the little house (*ng'anda inono*). The house of Chandamukulu is the big house at the moment because she is the senior daughter of a senior *namfumu*. But deaths could change this in the future and turn the Mukukamfumu's into the big house, for once the name is inherited it is not changed. Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu are but names and the relative seniority of their mothers decides which is senior at any particular moment.

(i) History.

173 551 644 A brief history of the *namfumu* will bring out many points of succession. Little can be gathered about the earlier lineage. The name Chandamukulu is said to be the oldest name and traditionally the name of the mother of the earliest Chitimukulu', but Mukukamfumu does not make its appearance until the beginning of the present lineage. When Chileshye Chepela A2 chased away Chimbola and his family it is noteworthy that the name of Chileshye A2's mother was not changed. Dr. Richards (*op. cit.* (1), page 93) says that the mother of a Paramount succeeds to the fixed name of Chandamukulu. But there is no historical example either in the present lineage or in the old to warrant this statement.

So Mukukamfumu I kept her name when her son became Paramount. The Chandamukulu who was driven away also kept her own name until she died. Then, but not until Chimbola's mother died, did Chileshye A2's elder sister A1 take the name and title of Chandamukulu I in the new lineage. The Chimbola branch of the clan were eventually invited back from beyond the Chambeshi whither they had been driven and given an area on the Weyaya stream. The mother of Chimbolas was given the title of Chanda Weyaya but she must not take this title until she is past child bearing age. She then becomes a *Na babenye* (a mother of the hereditary relics). This arrangement seems to be a very subtle way of preventing Chanda Weyaya from re-claiming the Paramountcy for her sons, because she does not get an hereditary royal title until she cannot produce any more sons. The succession is as with other *namfumu*, from sister to sister then to grand-daughters, but if the heir is still young she does not get the name nor the sacred relics (*babenye*) until she is past child bearing age. The name just "rests" for a period.

644 173 Kanyanta Bwalya A4 died before Chandamukulu I A1 so the descent went direct and correctly to Kangwa Chanya C4 who became Chandamukulu II.

The Mukukamfumu was also inherited correctly by the granddaughter of Mukukamfumu I. Kanyanta Bwalya A4 would not inherit Mukukamfumu as, even if she was alive at the time, there was a granddaughter available. So Kasonde B2 became Mukukamfumu II. Then comes an apparent slip but one that is easily explained. Kasonde Mukukamfumu II

1 [For identification of the Chitimukulu see pp. 44-50. - Analyst]

B2 was killed by the Ngoni during a raid. Chimbabantu C5 was also captured by the Ngoni and taken away. So when Kasonde Mukukamfumu B2 was killed she had no sister to inherit, as Nakasafya B5 was also dead, and there were no granddaughters then. So the descent went to Mandechanda C8, a niece (classificatory daughter) and she became Mukukamfumu III. 644 173

Chimbabantu C5 had been captured when she was very young, about 12–14 years of age, by the Ngoni during a raid. She was sold by the Ngoni to a Fungwe native of what is now Isoka district and was married by him. Some years later greetings and messages began to come through from her by way of ivory traders (*Balungwana*). Kafola D11 was told to make enquiries and he discovered where she was so she was finally brought back with her Fungwe husband. He was given ivory and he went away leaving Chimbabantu C5 and her two children by him. The two children are now Nkolemfumu Musenga D6 and Chandamukulu Chabili D7. The former will probably become Paramount and the latter's sons too perhaps. The tribe of the father should not matter in a matrilineal tribe, and in another Bemba lineage there is an example of Ngoni blood in a royal branch of the clan, an occurrence that did not affect succession. After her return home Chimbabantu C5 successively married three Bemba and had two girls and a son, one child by each husband. These three are Kasonde D8, Mubanga D9 and the present Mpepo D10.

In view of recent doubts about her identification raised by Nkula D14, it should be said that it is quite clear that the Chimbabantu C5 who returned was the one who had been taken away. She was too young to have been cicatrised with Bemba markings, but she was old enough to remember her relatives and it was her messages, revealing her knowledge of them, by the traders that first drew their attention to the fact that she was alive. When she returned she had Ngoni face markings and her ear lobes had been slit and enlarged in the Fungwe style. But she proved her identity then; and was accepted as Chimbabantu C5 by all branches of the clan up until the present, so I do not think any questioning can be allowed now.

When Kangwa Chonya C4 died then about 1911 (?) she was normally succeeded by Chimbabantu C5 who became Chandamukulu III. She, C5, died in 1937 but was succeeded by her daughter Chabili D7. This was not a regular succession but Mushimba C11 had died in 1928 and the only granddaughter then was Katongo E2 who was mad, so the only heir was the daughter Chabili D7. She became Chandamukulu IV and is still alive to-day.

Thus the Chandamukulu can show a regular succession, allowing for accidents such as mad granddaughters, right up to the present. But the Mukukamfumu descent has a recent history of complications that I must describe.

The usual home of Mukukamfumu is Kabumba in Lubemba (Kasama district) and it is here that the sacred relics (*babenye*) of this chieftainship are kept. In 1924 when Bwalya Nkula D12 failed in his claim to the Paramountcy, he was so angry that he made his mother Mukukamfumu Mandechanda C8 leave Lubemba and go to live with him in Chinsali. She went about 1925. But the relics were left at the Kabumba and were cared for by Chisofwa, a councillor of the Mukukamfumu. They stayed from 1925 to 1936 and during all this time there was much discussion and argument not only between Chitimukulu and Nkula but among the councillors too. [778]

644 173 Nkula was demanding that the relics go to Chinsali and the Paramount refusing, whilst the elders were saying that it was wrong for the relics to be left for so long without a *namfumu* to care for them. They demanded that some mother of chiefs be sent there, not to inherit the name or take the relics, because there was a Mukukamfumu still alive, but just to look after the relics.

Mushimba C11 was still alive for four years of this dispute and living at the Paramount's village, and as she was the next senior she should have gone. But she did not go. This is an interesting point, for the *Bakabilo* tell me that if she had been sent she would have taken the relics herself and also have usurped the name of Mukukamfumu. She was not sent to do that because the real Mukukamfumu was still alive. The fact that she was not allowed to take the relics and the name tends to prove a point I wish to make later, that only two women, mothers of Paramounts, can hold hereditary titles and have relics.

The discussions dragged on. Mushimba C11 died in 1928 before Mukukamfumu C8 thus she did not inherit one of the traditional names.

When Mukukamfumu Mandechanda C8 died in 1929 the right heir Nkumbula E11 her classificatory granddaughter was nominated (*kusonta*—to point out) by both the Paramount and Nkula C14. There was no dispute about who was the right heir but Nkumbula E11 could not inherit according to custom because Bwalya Nkula C12 would not let her go to Kabumba to the relics. He still wanted them to go to Chinsali. So the deadlock continued until 1936. The relics had been left for 11 years without a *namfumu* so the Paramount sent the next senior woman Chabili D7 to look after them. Chilufya D4 had died earlier in childbirth. Again there was no question of the name but only of care of the relics.

Chabili was only left a few months at Kabumba for Chandamukulu Chimbabantu C5 became seriously ill and since there were no sisters and the only granddaughter at that time was mad, Chabili D7 was the next heir. She inherited the Chandamukulu in 1937.

The question of care of the relics arose again. Nkula D14 had now inherited and he still refused to do anything about it. I was at Chinsali from 1938–1942 and I remember his constant attempts to get Nkumbula E11 recognised, particularly by Government. He did this by trying to get her a stave of office such as Chandamukulu has and a similar salary from the Bemba Treasury. He no doubt thought that once these things were effected the removal of the relics would follow. But he failed, for one reason because the Treasury was poor then and was restricting salary payments as much as possible.

So Nkula D14 saw that he was in a quandary. He had the right heir to the Mukukamfumu but he had neither relics nor status for her. So he began to give ground.. But he still would not send the right heir. He sent his sister Nankumbula D13, the mother of Nkumbula Mukukamfumu E11, in 1936 to Kabumba.. He stated that Nkumbula E11 was still too young to send, so her mother would look after the place for her until she grew up. This was a poor story because Nkumbula E11 was then married and had her first child. (In 1943 she had four children, the eldest about 8 years old.) Nkula D14 was still temporising and he went on trying, through Kasama this time, to get a salary and a stave of office for Nankumbula D13. He failed so after about a year of looking after the relics Nankumbula D13 returned to Chinsali inn 1937. Again the relics were left without a *namfumu*.

They stayed alone with only the councillor to care for them for about another five years. Nkumbula E11 was so obviously grown up that Nkula D14's first excuse was definitely invalid now and it was clear that he was just carrying on the struggle to get the relics across to Chinsali. 644 173

Then in 1942 the Paramount took a step that forced Nkula D14's hand. He sent Sampa D22 to the Mukukamfumu relics. It is obvious that the patience of the Paramount and his councillors was exhausted for this appointment was not merely one of looking after the relics. They nominated Sampa D22, the sister of Shimumbi D18 and of the branch of the clan the farthest away from the Paramountcy, to be Mukukamfumu in place of Nkumbula E11. The councillors' attitude was that since Nkula refused to send the right heir then they must put in some one else. So Sampa D22 went to Kabumba but before she could inherit Nkula D14 had seen the danger and quickly sent to say he would send Mukukamfumu back.

The point to notice here is that Chitimukulu did not send either of the two younger sisters of Chandamukulu D7. He could have sent Kasonde D8 or Mubanga D9. But the tendency to keep the families apart was strong. He did not want the Mukukamfumu in his family and the line began by Nakasafya B5 was to be kept distinct. There is no doubt that the tendency to keep the Mukukamfumu and the Nkula in a separate branch of the clan is now a most powerful factor in Bemba politics. It is almost tradition now that the senior house gives these other two important posts to the next junior branch. The Councillors say that the possession of two good posts prevents the junior branch from being too jealous.

So Sampa D22 was the next on the list, as Mutale D21 was dead. She went to Kabamba but shortly afterwards in 1943 the right heir Nkumbula E11 arrived and duly inherited as Mukukamfumu IV. Sampa D22 was extremely angry but she had to go. The Nkula house had lost the fight in one respect and hung on to rights in another way. The attempt to gain complete control of the Mukukamfumu in their own district had failed. But by surrendering at the last moment they had prevented a still more junior branch of the clan from taking their important posts. There is little doubt that had the Mushimba C11 branch obtained the Mukukamfumu they would in time have obtained the Nkula too, insisting on the complete split being made. (I tell in the Nkula section how that chieftainship was put into a branch of its own.)

So we have to-day both a Chandamukulu and a Mukukamfumu in their right places. There is one more important point. In 1943 the Paramount and Council appointed Sampa E12 the younger sister of Nkumbula Mukukamfumu E11 to inherit the name of Mushimba. This is a deliberate attempt to make a third name into an hereditary one. Such a proceeding may lead to complications in future successions. Whether the repercussions will occur or not depends upon what the Council decide about the sons of Mushimba I C11; whether they are to come into the line of succession to the Paramountcy or whether the line is to stop at Bwembia Chikwanda D5. That is the topic of the following subsection.

(ii) The Stop in Horizontal Succession.

One of the most noticable features of this history of the mothers of chiefs is that there have been, until the present day, only the two hereditary names. This seems to be a very significant point. There have been other mothers of Paramounts as can be seen from the table, but the reasons they 644 551

644 551 have never obtained either of the two hereditary names are either because they have died before opportunity arrived or because they were daughters and thus passed over in favour of granddaughters.

644 Another point is that not until the fourth generation in this lineage, in line C, do we find more than two mothers of chiefs of the same generation. In line C the mothers of chiefs are, strictly speaking, four. But since Chandamukulu II C4 and Chandamukulu III C5 are blood sisters and since Chandamukulu II C4 failed to perpetuate her female line through Chilufya D4 the practical effect is to give us now three branches of the clan. The line of the Chandamukulus II C4 and III C5, that of Mukukamfumu C8 and that of Mushimba C 11.

Hence my use in later sections of the terms referring to first, second and third branches of the clan. I think such a use is justified since, as I have said, the two Chandamukulus C4 and C5 are blood connections and because the first portion of the line D as far as D5 is almost finished, its status and seniority being taken over by the second portion.

Such a division is perhaps very arbitrary but it simplifies the following interpretation of the tendencies of chiefly succession.

644 613 622 In earlier lineages there were more than the two or three sisters of Paramounts, but as I shall tell in other sections, their sons were not concerned with the succession to the Paramountcy. They were split off to found separate chieftainships of their own. In talking to the councillors about this they use phrases such as— " they were too far away (on a genealogical horizontal line) to be considered." It seems clear that the councillors have in mind some sort of stop on a horizontal line beyond which a *namfumu* would not be considered as bearing sons eligible for the Paramountcy. Where this stop is, of course, depends upon circumstances such as how many sons a senior *namfumu* produces. In the past, earlier lineages, whether from accident or design two *namfumu* have sufficed and so have two until the fourth generation of this lineage. There is supposed to have been a third sister (or cousin) beyond Bwembia A6 on line A who was founder of the Shimumbi house. See Section 3.

Before going on I should insist that where this stop is made, or if one is necessary at the present time, is a matter for the Superior Native Authority, Chitimukulu and his councillors. Whatever points I make from a historical stand-point I gain from discussion with the councillors, and whatever suggestions I make from an administrative point of view are subject to scrutiny by the Superior Native Authority.

My own belief that the stop comes almost instinctively after a second branch of the clan, is founded firstly on the importance of the fact that there are but two hereditary names of *namfumu*. Also on an authoratative, though guarded, remark from some councillors that whether the present succession stopped with Chikwanda D15 or went on to Kafyama D20 depended solely upon the position in the new generation, line E. In other words if there are powerful claimants or perhaps a sufficient number of claimants for the important posts from the senior but lower generation then the most junior of the higher generation to the right will be considered as " too far away." A propos of the present position one councillor said— " in the past there would have been fighting about it. But now the Government must settle this." From what has been told of Bemba history it would appear that he is right about this being a fighting stage.

Dr. Gluckman pointed out to me that what has been taking place in the Bemba chiefly structure is a feature not only of Bemba history but also of many other African systems. This is a tendency to dichotomy and political struggle for the big posts between the various branches of the clan. The junior branches tend to drift and separate from the main branch and then they have to fight to get back to gain the main chieftainships. The struggles are related to the territorial divisions and the fights and intrigues between the powerful heads of such areas have, in practice, the effect of periodically re-uniting the nation. For, after each civil war, the big posts leading to the Paramountcy are again in a single branch of the family. The Paramount himself takes over the Lubemba area and the tribe is united again until a new drift away of junior branches to become territorial powers recommences. This is not the place for anthropological theorising so I refer these characteristics to the genealogical table[1] We now have three branches of the clan. The second branch, that of the Mukukamfumu has steadily moved farther away from the Chandamukulu line, but it has succeeded in taking one big chieftainship the Nkula, and perhaps a second, the Chikwanda. Hence the tendency, mentioned by Dr. Richards, for certain chieftainships to become stabilised in definite families, is partially true. (*Op. cit.* (1), page 103.) Unless the junior branch fights, as the Mukukamfumu one is doing, it would eventually move still farther away from the senior branch and find itself left with just its present chieftainships and no hope of getting to the Paramountcy. Any third branch of the clan, as the present Mushimba branch, would also find itself drifting still farther into a little separate line of succession. This has happened to third lines in the earlier and present lineage. (See Section 3.)

In the past this drifting away of a junior branch has often been stopped by wars and fights in which the junior branch brought itself into the Paramountcy line again. The Chimbola incident is one I have described. But these wars cannot occur in the future and the Bemba chiefly system is at a delicate stage. The old councillor who said that this would have been a fighting period was right. The Mukukamfumu branch has been satisfied, more or less, with the Nkula chieftainship since 1924 and the Chandamukulu branch still to-day says it is willing for the Mukukamfumu branch to follow on after it even to the Paramountcy. There is not much hope of this as I show later. The fact that there are two queen mothers with hereditary names is still a guiding line to succession and I am inclined to think that no son of a Chandamukulu or a Mukukamfumu would be considered as being " too far away " to come into the direct line—at the moment. The Chandamukulu succession must keep switching back to the extreme left, but, if the Chandamukulu has many sisters, daughters, and nieces, as in the present lines D and E, the Mukukamfumu must be pushed farther away to the right. And so her sons will be farther away from the Paramountcy. In time even a descendant of a Mukukamfumu would be " too far away."

That explanation is of future complications and most of us can see the difficulties in allowing the line to go on indefinitely to the right. To deal with present day succession. Is one stop at least to be made after Chikwanda D15, the last son of a Mukukamfumu ?

I will continue to refer to Mushimba C11 as the third sister because, as I have explained, her name has now been made into an hereditary one and I have classed, for convenience and because C4's family is at a dead end, the offspring of the two Chandamukulus C4 and C5 as one family.

[1] [see cat.116, pp.44-50.—Analyst]

613 At the moment, if we continue the line D we find, of the same generation as the reigning chiefs, the sons of the third sister Mushimba C11. She
643 has two sons, Chief Shimumbi IV D18 and Musungu Kafyama D20. If
644 the line is carried right across, these two men are numbers seven and eight from the Paramountcy. In 1942 Kafyama D20 tried to claim the vacant Mpepo on the grounds that the line should be followed right across. But, after discussion with Government, the Superior Native Authority disallowed his claim, not because the Authority had considered the principle but because in any case Mutale Nshika D10 was the right heir for he was the son of the eldest sister. But with the first death of any of the existing chiefs in the Paramountcy line the principle of succession will have to be decided, for there are no more sons of this generation from the elder sisters. This is the problem. Should the third branch and its offspring be considered at all as claimants for chieftainships leading to the Paramountcy? The fact that such people are of the royal totem does entitle them to chieftainships when available, but does it entitle them to those in the main line and can the sons of any royal sister claim this right?

The third branch of the family naturally asserts that it has this right. But it would be hazardous to state that tribal opinion, or the rule of the hereditary councillors, would support it, for an actual issue has never before been placed before them. The Nkula of a second branch, claimed that the descent was changed to a vertical one in its favour by the long run of Paramountcies from the right of the table. This is a belief based on an axiom that is often quoted in tribal arguments, the axiom that history makes the custom. If we examine the historical position of the third branch of the clan we soon see why their claim to follow on the direct line is still a debatable one.

In actual research I have failed to find any instance of the son of a third sister entering the direct line to the Paramountcy. There are instances that will be given later of the sons of the third sisters becoming chiefs, but such occurrences usually resulted in the formation of separate and distinct lines of chiefs. It may be contended that this was only because death cut them off before their chance came, and that these other chieftainships were created so as to give them a chance of power whilst they were waiting to see what happened to the sons of the elder sisters. That may be, but it is an assumption that cannot now be proved. Violent death in wars and quarrels must have cut off as many scions of the first family as of the third in the past, and it is strange that, although there have been third sisters with sons many times in past lineages, it is only now they are enabled to
613 approach the main line.

643 There are two more historical facts that seem to show that the third
644 sister is not on the same footing as the first two. At the moment only the
55.1 two *namfumu* Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu possess *babenye* or tribal
[778] relics. These are the sacred objects that all chiefs and other tribal personages have and that are inherited with the name and post. Mushimba C11 had none, perhaps only because she had not inherited a name, but this fact alone would place her on a definitely lower plane than the other two women and indicate that she is not really of the same class. I have already told how Mushimba C11 was not allowed to go to Kabamba for fear she should usurp the post and relics of Mukukamfumu. So long as there were two *namfumu* living there was no question then of creating the third one. I have already pointed out that never before has a third name been inherited, although Goodall's big table and the histories of the minor chieftainships

give many examples of third sisters with sons. This also seems to indicate that the third sister was not considered as an important bearer of a name. Mushimba C11 died in 1928 and she was the first of that name. In 1943 the Paramount said that the name of Mushimba should be perpetuated and he called Sampa E12, classificatory granddaughter of deceased, Mushimba II. It should be understood that all names, are inherited. There is a Nakasafya called after B5 but she is not a *namfumu*. But in the case of Mushimba the name now appears again for a second time as a *namfumu* in a direct line of inheritance. But the councillors, in spite of the Paramount's statement, are still undecided as to whether E12 should still retain the name Sampa or be called Mushimba. So that even the perpetuation of a third name is still not completely settled. 551 613 643 644

These historical facts show that in the past, whatever the real reasons may have been, the third sister and her sons were not concerned with the line to the Paramountcy. If they are to be in the future is presumably a matter for the main tribal council, or that part of it concerned with succession, to decide. There are however a few administrative factors which might influence the council either now or in the future. I think I should give them here in order to complete this full discussion of the position of the third branch of the clan. 613 643 644

To restrict all claims to the Paramountcy and its attendant chieftainships to the sons of the elder two sisters only would, of course, simplify the succession considerably. The succession of Bemba chiefs is complicated and intricate mainly because it involves so many chieftainships, which are necessary in a large tribe, and because the system is spread over so many wide-flung administrative districts. When the present Chitimukulu D1 inherited it took a Government enquiry nine months to verify that he was the right man, and only the descendants of two Chandamukulus and a Mukukamfumu were involved. If the line is allowed to continue to the extreme right and involve any number of *namfumu*, then the number of scions who have to be considered will become greater every generation. For death will not simplify matters so easily as it did in the past. This complication by number does not arise when a line of descent goes down vertically, or perhaps I should say, horizontally only in one branch. So that for administrative convenience it would be better to contain the succession within more definite lines. 613 622 643 644

Secondly, with the line restricted there will not be so much shifting of chiefs on promotion from one district to another. For with more emphasis on a vertical descent it is more probable that the man to inherit is not an existing chief but a young man, nephew to deceased, instead of a cousin of the same generation. 622

Thirdly this would help to stop a long succession of old men—brother following brother and cousin following cousin. There would be a more constant stream of younger men obtaining chieftainships. Moreover, this would give Government a chance to educate men who have a reasonable prospect of becoming chiefs. At the moment there are too many men of the same generation to be considered. We have had a series of old, conservative chiefs. It is true that the new people following at the moment are younger but, and this really important, they are all practically of the same age since they are of the same generation. So that in ten years' time we shall again see many important Bemba chieftainships held by old men.

622 If this horizontal reading of the table is extended beyond one or two branches of the clan there is not so much hope of getting a constant leavening of younger men. Most of the chiefs in the direct line to the Paramountcy will be much of the same age.

Lastly, the Superior Authority is being encouraged to cut down the number of redundant chieftainships. This will emphasise still more not only the intricacy of the descent but will make it still more obvious that only old men will become chiefs. If the horizontal line of succession is carried across as far as it will go and there are a reduced number of chieftainships this not only means that the claimants may have to be traced through a series of dead men but also that the general age of men succeeding will be still higher. For there will be so many cousins without chieftainships who must get them before the younger sons of *namfumu*.

613 643 That concludes the discussion on the place and status of the present third branch of the clan. The historical and administrative arguments seem to be on the side of its members being ignored as regards the Paramountcy and in favour of them being restricted to their own separate little chieftainship of Shimumbi. What attitude the Council will take I do not know. The influence of Kafyama D20, the man who has a lot to gain, is considerable as he is a very assertive character. He will deal very roughly with any suggestion that history does not support his claims. However, whatever may happen in the immediate future this examination of the place of the third branch may be useful if ever a Council does consider simplification of the system.

500 Suppose this third branch was cut out. How would the descent go? Referring again to the table it means that Chikwanda D15 is the last man of his generation to be considered: that Shimumbi D18 and Kafyama D20 remain a separate entity and receive no promotion from their own chieftainship of Shimumbi. Thus when either Chitimukulu D1 or Mwamba D3 dies the Mpepo would become vacant. The descent would then drop a line to Chakwangashi E3, the son of Chandamukulu Chabili D7. (Chikwanda would not want the Mpepo as it is a less post than his.) The descent would go downwards instead of so far across. Kasonde D8, the next sister, only has daughters so the next vacancy might go to Mubanga E8, the son of Mubanga D9. If any of the sisters only have daughters or no issue then the offspring of a third sister would have to be considered, although the sons of the daughters themselves would not lose seniority. In the case of Chandamukulu II C4 and III C5 we have an instance of the line of a more senior sister dying out as regards succession and the next sister taking the place of the more senior one.

Thus the descent would be simplified and restricted. A glance at the line E, below that of the present chiefs shows how the number of female descendants is increasing. The time may come when not two or three sisters, but perhaps four or five, have to be considered and the line to the Paramountcy become still more complicated.

(c) The Present and Future Succession.

643 644 I must remind readers of the rules enunciated in subsection (a).[1] That the table is read as a book, horizontally from left to right, and that all the sons of one generation must be passed before there is a switch back to the left and down to a lower generation.

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 4-8 Analysis]

These rules can be plainly seen at the moment. The living sons of a senior Chandamukulu, Kangwa Chonya, C4 are Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1 and Mwamba V D3. Their half-brothers are the living sons of the next sister who also became Chandamukulu C5, and are Nkolemfumu Musenga D6 and Mpepo Mutale D10. There were no other real sisters of that generation but a cousin of the same generation who became Mukukamfumu C8 has two living sons, of the same generation and cousins to the above mentioned four leading chiefs, and they are Nkula Musungu D14 and Chikwanda Bwembia D15. Thus the direct line of the Paramountcy is strictly as follows at the moment: 643 644

Chitimukulu D1, Mwamba D3, Nkolemfumu D5, Mpepo D10, Nkula D14, Chikwanda D15. Then if the third branch is also included, the next two are Shimumbi D18 and Musungu Kafyama D20. That is how the line goes to-day but it does not always follow that the succession is in the order of the names quoted here. Mwamba will perhaps normally succeed in the future, as this post is now the second in importance and as a man reaches the Paramountcy his next successor will follow to the next most important post, and the successor will normally be a brother or cousin. But it happened in the past that Nkulas were from a more senior *namfumu* than the Mwambas, in which case the Nkulas succeeded. But this does not apply at the moment. The point is that the names of the immediate succession will not always be in the order that now follows Mwamba.

The present Chandamukulu Chabili D7, is sister of Nkolemfumu D6 and thus she is of a younger generation than the mothers of Nkolemfumu D6 and Nkula D14. Her son is not yet a chief nor is the son of her sister Mubanga D9. These sons may follow either Mpepo D10 or Chikwanda D15 or Kafyama D20 according to deaths and according to whether the third branch is included in the main line. For reasons explained below, the main one being that because Musungu Nkula D14 and Bwembia Chikwanda D15 are so much older in years than Mpepo D10 that they have no hope of the Paramountcy I do not think Musungu Nkula D14 will move from his present post at all, and Bwembia Chikwanda D15 would lose in salary by becoming Nkolemfumu. So that, if only the two branches of the clan are considered, Chakwangashya E3 the eldest son of the present Chandamukulu D7 may follow Mutale D10, as Mpepo and Mubanga's D9 son Mubanga E9 after him. If the third branch is included Kafyama D20 will get a chieftainship before them and Shimumbi D18 may want the Nkolemfumu as the salary is higher.

At the moment the two chiefs Musungu Nkula D14 and Bwembia Chikwanda D15 of the existing Mukukamfumu branch of the clan are older in years than Mpepo D10 of the Chandamukulu branch, and therefore it is unlikely that either Nkula D14 or Chikwanda D15 will live long enough to get nearer to the Paramountcy, although Chikwanda D15 may become Nkula when his brother dies. The Chikwanda post gets a higher salary than Mpepo's or Nkolemfumu's, so if within the next few years Musenga Nkolemfumu D6 becomes Paramount and Mutale Mpepo D10 becomes Mwamba then the direct horizontal list of names—Chitimukulu, Mwamba, Nkolemfumu, Mpepo—would in all probability be broken. Neither Nkula D14 nor Chikwanda D15, though the next in succession, would take the lower paid post of Nkolemfumu in which case they would stay where they are. Chakwangashya E3 would then be the next to be Nkolemfumu unless the third branch is brought in and Shimumbi D18 or Kafyama D20 takes the post. But the series of names would then run (if D1 and D3 are dead) Chitimukulu, Mwamba, Nkula, Chikwanda, followed

643 644 by Chakwangashya E3 as Nkolemfumu, Mubanga E9 as Mpepo (or else Shimumbi D18 and Kafyama D20). This shows that Dr. Richards statement (*op. cit.* (1), page 103) that the present series of chieftainships is tending to become fixed in the main branch is somewhat misleading. The series can only be fixed if we cease to read the table horizontally and stop at a first or second branch. For example, if the third branch wins its claim to be considered, Kafyama D20 would take the Mpepo on the death of the present Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1 because D3, D6 and D10 would move up and the Mpepo is too small a post for Nkula D14 or Chikwanda D15 or Shimumbi D18. Moreover, in the line D, Chandamukulu Chabili D7 has only one living son Chakwangashya E3 and neither she nor her sister Kasonde D8 are likely to have more offspring. Mubanga D9 has one son and may have more. So it seems in the future that the series of chieftainships mentioned will not stay in the one branch of the clan. (Another possibility that would break the series of names is that if Chikwanda were to die then Nkolemfumu might claim that post because the salary is higher.)

At the moment, on the genealogical table, Mpepo D10 appears as fourth in the line of succession and Nkula D14 the fifth, but the death of any of the first four would bring Musungu Nkula D14 up to number four, whether he kept his present post or not. It is not the actual name that counts but the place in the genealogical table. The present Nkula D14 would not move from his existing post, I imagine, until at least three of the four men ahead of him had died and thus left vacant the Mwamba. He could watch junior men, for example, Kafyama D20 or Chabili's son, E3, taking the Mpepo and the Nkolemfumu and he could still claim his right to the Mwamba or the Chitimukulu before them. There is a very present chance that Chikwanda D15 could become Nkolemfumu if he wished, because both Chitimukulu D1 and Mwamba D3 will probably die soon. But if Chikwanda D15 does become Nkolemfumu, which I doubt since the salary at the moment is less, he could not go on and become Mwamba before his elder brother Nkula D14, unless the latter agreed.

554 622 643 At this point I should emphasise that both as regards prestige and salary there is a distinct break after the three main chieftainships of Chitimukulu, Mwamba and Nkula. At the moment, as I have repeated, a chief called Nkolemfumu happens to be third in succession. But the post is not important by salary or status (see later) and once the present series is broken by the deaths of the two leading chiefs this post of Nkolemfumu will be taken by a man much farther away than third in succession to the Paramountcy. Of the chiefs of royal blood the Chikwanda is now the most important modern post after the first three for he gets the next biggest salary after Nkula on account of the size of his area and population. Hence my statements that Chikwanda D15 will no doubt wait and follow his brother Nkula D14, rather than take a post such as the Nkolemfumu which would give him a lower salary but not jump him nearer to the Paramountcy. That position a man cannot lose whatever chieftainship he takes.

551 622 643 I enlarge on this particular chieftainship of Nkolemfumu in order to show that the mere possession of its name does not bring the holder nearer to the Paramountcy. There are other royal chieftainships paid higher or equal salaries, and since it is only the place in the genealogical table that counts, a holder of one of these can hang on to it until a post such as Nkula or Mwamba becomes vacant. I must emphasise that genealogical seniority entitles a man in theory to claim any of the three leading chieftainships,

not because he happens to be one of a series of names. That is strictly speaking, but as I describe elsewhere the dichotomy of the branches and political considerations have kept the Nkula in one branch for two generations now. 551 622 643

This brings me to another interesting point connected with the break in the series of names. There was a chance that the series might have been Chitimukulu, Mwamba, Nkula in a direct unbroken line. Nkolemfumu Mbonkali D5 stated his intention of claiming the Nkula on the death of Bwalya Nkula IV D12. He contended, and quite rightly, that he was senior to Musungu Chikwanda D14 and could claim it. If he had succeeded we should have had the new series mentioned. A glance at line C2 and C3 shows that an Nkula had been immediately after a Mwamba in the table in the past too.

The fact that Mbonkali D5 did not get the Nkula was due to the same reason that Chikwanda III C6 was not followed by D1, 2, 3 or 4. That there was the desire to give the branch of Mukukamfumu one or more of the higher posts. That was the reason openly given in 1934 when Bwalya Nkula IV D12 died. Such a reason emphasises the dichotomy of families, and Dr. Richards' statement that certain chieftainships are being stabilised in certain branches of the family may be true in a limited way such as this. But it is a dangerous argument for the present junior branches to press because if carried to logical conclusions it would freeze such chieftainships as the Nkula and Shimumbi in their own lines and tend to imply that they could not leave them to pass to the Mwamba. The tendency to split as regards the Nkula branch only started one generation back in line C in the present lineage, and some of the arguments given in the last subsection against the promotion of the third branch of the family could equally well apply for the restricting of the second branch to its own line. However that is a matter that is the future concern of the Superior Native Authority and Government. 622

Nkula D14 would take the post of Mwamba because the salary is bigger and perhaps because the status is higher too. Nkula V D14 makes a great show at the moment of not waiting for intervening deaths but of claiming the Paramountcy direct after Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1. But, as a glance at the genealogical table proves, all he has the right to do is to follow after the present Mpepo D10 to whatever post that chief attains. Nkula's mother C8 was junior to the mother C5 of Nkolemfumu D6 and Mpepo D10, so that Nkula D14 is junior to them in the right of succession. [554]

(*d*) Conclusion.

There are one or two interesting explanations necessary to complete this description of the line to the Paramountcy. 643

The status of the three or four leading chiefs seems puzzling at times. The Mwamba has often fought against the Chitimukulu. The Nkula has not, but perhaps only because the Nkula is a comparatively recent post and has not had the necessary time to build up power. There are several occasions on which Nkula might have fought had there been no European administration to restrain him. 622 643 669

Generally speaking, as Dr. Richards indicates, authority, power and prerogatives depend upon descent and kinship and all branches of the royal clan can claim connection with the original family of which a traditional Chitimukulu was head. 643 [614]

643 [551] Chitimukulu was head. The Chitimukulu is the oldest name of a royal chief. It is the name carried by the most senior member of the crocodile totem and as such it demands the most respect. The sway of a Chitimukulu is as much moral and spiritual as temporal. His temporal power too is the greatest of the chiefs. He lives in and rules Lubemba, the stronghold of the tribe, and in the beginning all appointments of chiefs to help him hold the widening sphere of Bemba rule came from him. He also has the largest number of people in his own area.

622 The Mwamba only appears as a hereditary chief two generations before the present lineage and his area and population are still much smaller than the Paramount's, even after some Mwambas have increased their power by war against the Paramount. Thus by tradition and age the Mwamba is second to the Paramount though at various times he has made himself politically independent of the Paramount (5).

The Nkula is the most recent of the main appointments. I tell the history of it in Section 2 and the high status is no doubt partly due to the fact that the modern Nkula is a continuation of a chieftainship once held by a senior house. I believe also that geography has helped to make him so powerful as well as the fact that the house now is that of the second senior mother. The Chambeshi is said to be a religious boundary as well as a [643 788] geographical one. A Paramount has occasionally crossed it but only after performing a ceremony including the dropping of beads into the river. Thus Nkula has built up a geographical power to the east of the Chambeshi. The genealogical drift of the Mukukamfumu branch of the clan away from the Paramountcy has emphasised his independence. But the age of his title puts him below Mwamba in status although now his population is much larger.

[551] The name Nkolemfumu is older than Nkula but the reason Nkula is now higher in status is because there has been a gap in the continuity of the Nkolemfumu name and because the Nkula now has part of the area that was the care of Nkolemfumu. The old Nkolemfumu lived to the west of the Chambeshi, as now, but his sway stretched across into part of what is now Nkula's country. When Chitimukulu Chileshye Chepela A2 usurped the throne an Nkolemfumu had just died. Chileshye A2 had no one to send to inherit the place (Bwembia A2 was a fool) so he brought all the *babenye* relics and gave them to the care of Mwamba who also took over most of the area. When Chitapankwa B4 became Chitimukulu he usurped the Nkula for his family, giving his brother Sampa B4 as Nkula I the old Nkolemfumu area to the east of the Chambeshi. Later he re-created a smaller Nkolemfumu which he gave to Mubanga Chipoya C2, who thus became Nkolemfumu I of a new lineage.

551 554 622 643 There is thus no doubt about the traditional order of status of the three leading names. Chitimukulu is first, Mwamba is second and Nkula third. Beyond that I doubt if it is possible to say more than that status perhaps follows genealogical closeness to the Paramountcy. The Mwamba probably will stick as second, even in genealogical closeness, from now on, but Nkula comes third in status by tradition as well as in modern importance however far away to the right he may be on a genealogical table.

622 The Nkolemfumu succession has gone fairly regularly since Mubanga Chipoya C2, the first of the name in the new lineage. When he died, Mutale Sichansa C3 and Chikwanda C6 were involved in the Nkula and Chikwanda

moves described elsewhere. Ponde C10 is said to have refused the Nkolemfumu as being too small for him and thereby starting his long feud with the Chandamukulu branch. C7, C9 and C12 were dead so Kanyanta D1 became Nkolemfumu II. Since then succession has been regular. 622

The Mpepo is a very new chieftainship. The present chief D10 is only the fourth holder. The post was created by Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2. He had been a great fighter against the Bisa of Mpika and when he left that area to become Nkolemfumu he took his youngest nephew and made him responsible for looking after the Bisa. The nephew became the first Mpepo and he is still living now as Mwamba D3. The succession has gone regularly along the horizontal line from brother to brother or cousin and can be seen easily along line D of the table.

Section 2.—THE LINE OF NKULA.

613 622 At the moment this is the house of Mukukamfumu, the second (my classification) branch of the clan. I have dealt adequately with the history and position of Mukukamfumu, and the association of the various Nkulas with the Paramountcy has been mentioned in the first section. I must now give a brief connected description of the succession.

In the old lineage there was a house of a *namfumu* Ngoshe, who is said to have been the senior sister of a Chitimukulu Katongo. Her line was pushed out of the Paramountcy line in one of the typical wars between the various branches of the clan. They were left with a chieftainship of Chewe, rather like the Chimbola house arrangement later, beyond the Chambeshi.

The first Chewe was to have been succeeded by his nephew but the nephew's younger brother quarrelled with the heir, dragged him out of a hut by his leg and told him to keep away. The younger brother took the post and was known as Nkula-Chewe (from Ku-kula, to drag or pull).

This Nkula—Chewe was succeeded by another nephew Chimfwembe who was holding the post at the time Chileshe Chepela A2 took the Paramountcy. When Chimfwembe died the Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 thought it was a chance to take even the one chieftainship from the house of Ngoshye. Chief Mwaba (another relic of an old royal family—see later) wanted to take the area. But Chitapankwa B4 sent his younger brother Sampa Kapalakasha B6 and there was a fight in which Mwaba was killed.

Kapalakashya B6 is usually classed as Nkula I of the new lineage but he did not stay very long in the area. He was next to become Paramount and he wished to be on hand when Chitapankwa B4 died. So he went back to Lubemba.

The weakling Chimfwembe B7 could not be given a post where a strong man was needed to take the brunt of Ngoni and Senga raids so the nephew Mutale Sichansa C3 was made Nkula II. Mutale Sichansa C3 had missed the Nkolemfumu post because Mwamba Kapalaula B3 and Chitapankwa B4 had both died within a short time of each other, as I have related, and thus Mubanga Chipoya C2 could leave Nkolemfumu to become Mwamba and his younger brother Mutale Sichansa C3 jump the Nkolemfumu for the bigger post of Nkula. He died as Nkula and Chikwanda I C6 holding a post newly created by Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 succeeded him. But he only stayed as Nkula III for a very short period for, it is said he hankered after the salt pans at Chibwa, and the richer elephant country of his old home as Chikwanda in the Mpika district. There is another story. Kapalakashya B6 had taken the relics (*babenye*) of the house of Chewe and Sichansa C3 had inherited them. But as soon as Sichansa C3 died the Chewe house took them back again and refused to give them to Chikwanda C6. It is said that "uncles" cannot make war on "nephews" though the nephew can make war on uncle. A very subtle point of chiefly etiquette! So Chikwanda C6 could not wrest the relics from a Chewe who was his classificatory nephew and he left the Nkula saying that a nephew of his could come and fight the uncle Chewe. He left Chinsali and went back as Chikwanda. Whilst Chikwanda C6 had been Nkula, Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya

C2 had died and the incidents related previously concerning the Mwamba succession had occurred. Ponde C10 was defeated by Government forces and he obtained neither the Mwamba nor the Nkula. The opposition of the Chandamukulu family and the defeat and flight kept him from both these posts. Another story is that Ponde C10 was a favourite of Chitimukulu Chimfwembe B7 and that he enjoyed far more power and influence as unofficial aide-de-camp and regent to the Paramount than he would have as Nkula. 613 622

So the succession had to drop a line to the next generation. The post was the third most important in the tribe and it had not yet become stabilised in the one branch of the clan, for Nkula II C3 was from a senior *namfumu*, Mukukamfumu II B2 at the extreme left of the table. Why then did not Luatila D2 claim the Nkula ?

Only at this recent point in chiefly history, 1911, and with the fourth Nkula did the stabilisation of the Nkula in the one family begin. The only story of why Luatila D2 did not go to be Nkula is that both Chikwanda C6 and Ponde C10 sent word that they would not accept him. They said that the Chandamukulu branch held the Mwamba post and they wanted the Nkula for one of their branch. The Chandamukulu branch agreed and the stabilisation of the Nkula was begun.

Kafola D11 was dead so Bwalya D12 the senior nephew of Mukukamfumu C8, became Nkula IV about 1911. Chikwanda C6 only had a few months in his old post of Chikwanda when Chitimukulu Makumba B7 died and Chikwanda C6 inherited the Paramountcy. He was succeeded as Chikwanda II by Musungu D14 the younger brother of Bwalya Nkula D12. Chewe died about 1912 and Bwalya Nkula D12 obtained the relics without a war and then brought in his youngest brother Bwembya D15 as Chewe.

Bwalya Nkula IV D12 died in 1934 and, as I have mentioned, Nkolemfumu Mbonkali D5 did claim the post. It was the most recent attempt to keep all the big chieftainships in the one branch but it failed. The Paramount and councillors insisted that the Mukukamfumu branch must keep this one big chieftainship. So Chikwanda II D14 followed his brother and became Nkula V. He still holds the post. He was succeeded as Chikwanda III by Bwembya Chewe D15 and since the Chewe was proving but a small post the Superior Native Authority abolished the post and Nkula absorbed the area.

It is an interesting history giving an illustration of another senior branch of the clan the Ngoshye being swept into nonentity by the present senior house and it also shows the beginning of the present drift of the Mukukamfumu branch away from the main line. But at the same time, neither the late Nkula D12 nor the present one D14 acknowledge that they are too far away to become Paramounts.

Nkula's present position assessed by Government as regards salary, is as third in the Bemba heirarchy, following Chitimukulu and Mwamba. This follows closely his traditional status. Some people doubt whether Nkula would leave his post to become Mwamba if such an opening occurred. I am sure he would because Mwamba's salary is higher than Nkula's, and Nkula would be gaining in honour and status by becoming Mwamba. He would be justified in jumping over any Nkolemfumu or Mpepo who had been appointed from further to the right on the table or from the line below, as he himself would not have left his post to become Nkolemfumu or Mpepo. [554]

613 622 At the moment with a younger man in one of these two posts and both held by men who will obtain the Paramountcy and Mwamba before him, it does not seem likely that the present Nkula will ever change his post.

At one period in recent history, as I have related, there were three royal chieftainships belonging to this house, Nkula, Chikwanda and Chewe. There are only two royal chieftainships now held by this branch of the clan, plus one or two for sons.

The line of Nkula is now—Nkula D14 followed by Chikwanda D15. As to who follows Chikwanda D15 depends upon whether the third branch of the clan is allowed to follow the to left and who dies first. If the third branch is followed, Shimumbi D18 may move up, followed by Kafyama D20. It should be remembered that the Nkolemfumu is a bigger post than the Shimumbi and that the Chikwanda is bigger than either of them. So that the Chikwanda D15 would only move to take the Nkula or the Mwamba.

It is hardly possible to say more about this succession at the moment. Nkula D15 is not likely to become Mwamba so he will stay and thus be succeeded by Chikwanda D15. The Nkolemfumu and Mpepo posts will either be filled by Shimumbi D18 and Kafyama D20, or by sons of Chabili D7 or Mubanga D9, for if the Mushimba branch is cut out the descent must switch back to the left and drop a line.

Thus who follows Chikwanda D15 if he becomes Nkula depends upon moves that will follow the death of Chitimukulu D1 or Mwamba D3. We shall see then whether the third family is to come into the line. But not until Chikwanda D15 moves shall we see whether that chieftainship too is stabilised in the Nkula branch. There is the possibility, mentioned earlier, that Nkolemfumu may then try to obtain the Chikwanda. But I imagine that the Nkula branch will try to hang on to this big post, just as they preserved the Nkula in their branch in spite of Nkolemfumu Mbonkali D5's claim. If they do the split between the two branches of the clan will be still further emphasised.

It is said sometimes that Nkula had the right to appoint all the chiefs on the east side of the Chambeshi. This is wrong, but what is clear is that Nkula had to be consulted in their appointment, for the Chambeshi river was something of a political and religious boundary to Lubemba, with Nkula as the biggest power to the east. Of recent years many of the chiefs there have been related to Nkula's branch, for instance Chikwanda, Mubanga and Mukwikile, but they have not always been in the past and will not be in the future. What has happened is that Nkula has not had the power to interrupt any normal succession, but whenever possible he has been able to put his own sons into non-routine appointments east of the Chambeshi in the same way that Chitimukulu and Mwamba have done with their sons. The difference is that Nkula's appointments seem to be restricted to the east of the Chambeshi whereas Chitimukulu and Mwamba have had the whole of Bemba area at their disposal. Only recently Nkula D14 has sent his son to be regent for the aged Lukaka. An appointment that is as valid as any since the Lukaka is not a well established separate line.

Section 3.—THE LINE OF THE THIRD BRANCH OF THE CLAN CHIEF SHIMUMBI.

If my historical reasons are valid only two branches of the clan can claim by precedent a connection with the succession to the Paramountcy, and, strictly speaking, this branch now headed by Chief Shimumbi D18 should have been dealt with under Section 5, as merely one of several royal lines. But of recent years this branch of the clan has been exerting a claim to be classed with the two main branches. A claim that has never before been granted to any other junior branch and one that is causing so much discussion at the moment that I thought it best to give it a separate section and add a few more notes to the full enquiry given in Section 1.

The present Chief Shimumbi (Njoko) D18 is the fourth to hold the title but he is no relation to the former holders. These earlier chiefs were descended from a woman said to be a junior cousin of Kanyanta Bwalya A4 and form an example of a third branch being " too far away " to come into Paramountcy line. This branch had a line of its own and its leading chief was Shilukamba Chikwanda. When he died Chitimukulu Bwembia A6 agreed to Chikwanda C6 his nephew taking the *babenye*. But the line still went on through Shilukamba's sister and it held three small chieftainships of Shimumbi, Kalulu and Chibanda.

The last Shimumbi III Mwambamuchele died about 1929 but he was not succeeded by any of his relatives. The Paramount wanted a chieftainship for his nearer cousins so he put in Njoko D18 as Shimumbi IV and at the same time he deprived Kalulu and Chibanda of chiefly rights. The survivors of this branch of the clan still look to Chitimukulu Bwembia A6 as their uncle, although the real position of the mother of the house and her relationship to Kanyanta Bwalya A4 are very obscure.

This history of the earlier clan which was cut off, although headed by a royal sister, is but one of many such occurrences which tend to prove the theory that there is a stop in the horizontal line after two fertile branches.

So Njoko D18 became Shimumbi IV. This man was the son of Mushimba C11 who was sister to Chitimukulu Ponde C10. Shimumbi D18 has one brother, Kafyama D20, and he should succeed Shimumbi if the third branch of clan is cut out of the line to the Paramountcy. If this third branch of the clan is perpetuated as a separate chieftainship then Kafyama D20 would be followed by his nephew Mutali E22, son of the elder sister Mutali D21. If the third branch of the family is allowed to enter the line to the Paramountcy then Kafyama D20 will get a post at the first death (as described earlier) without having to wait for his brother's stool. This will be Mpepo, the lowest post, which will be vacated by a general move up. Kafyama D20 is in the peculiar position at the moment of being the only royal man of his generation without a chieftainship, but as families increase and if the number of chieftainships is reduced there will be many younger sons left with their ambitions unrealised in the future.

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622 This is sorry comfort for Kafyama D20 now for he is a pushing, aggressive character. He has great influence over the Paramount and only in 1942 when the Mpepo was vacant he bullied the Paramount into nominating him, tentatively, as Mpepo over the head of the rightful heir. Mwamba D3 objected and later two of the Paramount's councillors confessed that it was only Kafyama's insatiable ambitions that had worn down Chitimukulu D1. The Superior Authority finally vetoed the appointment but Kafyama D20 still hangs about the Court, waiting for any chance that might occur of enhancing his prestige. I have no doubt that he is the man most responsible for the active propaganda on behalf of the entry of the third branch of the clan into the main line. I think his own premature attempt to gain the Mpepo was but a part of a general family intrigue to make sure that the line is not passed over. To this end also the name of the mother, Mushimba C1 was made into an hereditary title and a recent occurrence described in the last section, very nearly succeeded in gaining the Mukukamfumu for a woman of this house. The success or otherwise of this campaign is very important because, whatever happens, the choice of the next chief will leave its mark on Bemba royal succession for many generations.

Section 4.—THE LINE OF THE ELDEST SON OF THE PARAMOUNT CHIEF MAKASA.

I have headed this section as above because it is the simplest way of indicating that the holder of the Makasa is thus so regarded, although he may not be the actual son of any chief who has been Paramount. He is the most senior son of all the chiefs of the royal clan. The holder of this post has an important part to play in the inheritance ceremonies of a Paramount. He goes over to the capital as soon as the body of the chief starts its journey to the burial grave at Mwalule and he stays in command of the capital until the new Paramount is appointed. He has to make the culminating remark acknowledging that the proposed Chitimukulu is his "father" and therefore the right man to succeed. It is said that his power at the appointment is greater than that of the *Bakabilo* (hereditary councillors). That is why he is known as the eldest son, and there have been attempts in the past by prospective claimants to the Paramountcy to get in a family member as Makasa ahead of succession, so that the claimant's way may be smoothed.

All the sons of chiefs who hold appointment naturally trace their descent through their fathers. The line to the Paramountcy and other royal chieftainships is through royal women. With the sons it is the other way about—they are from a royal father. The sons are not then of royal blood—*beneng'andu*.

In the Makasa succession, as in the main lines, the genealogical table is read across from left to right and the most senior son of the most senior father is taken as Makasa.

It has happened that only sons of Chitimukulu's, Mwamba's and Nkulas' have ever held the post, but even such a narrow limit has given scope for intrigue. The last Makasa of the old lineage was a son of a Chitimukulu. In the present lineage the first was a son of Chitimukulu Chileshe A2. Then came a son of Chitimukulu Bwembya A6. Then in succession came two sons of Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 who jumped his sons over the heads of several senior claimants. But when he died, after his career of upsetting most traditions of succession, the Makasa succession went back to a more senior line again and another son of Chitimukulu Chileshe A2 got the post. Following him came Musanya the son of Nkula Shichansa C3 and then Ndakala the son of Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2. This last Makasa, the seventh of the present lineage died in 1939.

The rule of succession sounds simple, but actually power politics and personal choice have great sway in the appointment of the sons of chiefs. For example, the most senior son living to-day is Tungati the son of Mwamba Kapalaula B3. He is also senior to the Makasa who died in 1939. This latter man was Ndakala the son of Nkula Shichansa C3, and he got the post ahead of Tungati. The reasons appear to be that he was already Mubanga which was usually considered the stepping stone to the Makasa and that Tungati who was then Luali hoped for the wealthier post of Mporokoso.

613 When Makasa Ndakala died in 1939 Tungati was still alive but too old
622 now to worry about moving to claim his rightful post. The next senior son
644 was Luchembe the son of Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2 but he was not nominated because he was half mad. The next sons were Lukaka and Muchereka also sons of Chipoya C2. They also were old and refused to move from their places in Mpika and Luwingu. So the next choice was the last son of Chipoya C2 who was then Chief Misengo.

But whilst all this discussion had been going on in 1939, Nkula D14 had been pressing the claims of Mubanga, who was nephew to the deceased Makasa and was also of the house of Nkula. Mubanga actually went to Makasa and inherited, or rather tried to. But when he attempted to " take
[789] the death off " the senior wife of the deceased, her body by magical means was turned round so that her feet appeared on the pillow instead of her head. This went on for some time and Mubanga was finally persuaded that the spirits disapproved his claim to be Makasa so he went back to his Mubanga post. The rightful heir, Misengo, took over and this time the spirits concurred.

This was an attempt of the Nkula branch of the clan to pack the gallery in its own favour. The members obviously thought that if the Makasa was a son of their branch he would influence the next choice of the Paramount in Nkula D14's favour. At the inheritance ceremonies he might use his power and point to Nkula D14 as " his father " and therefore Paramount. Another fact that encouraged their belief that Mubanga should succeed Makasa was that the Mubanga (or Lombe) is usually considered the stepping stone to the Makasa. It was in the past sometimes, and actually it should be for the next appointment. But after that the grading of salaries will probably make the Mubanga no longer a post worth arguing about.

622 The present Makasa, as we have said, is the youngest son of Chipoya C2.
644 The next senior son is the present Mubanga Lombe who tried to usurp the post one promotion ahead of his time in 1939. After him comes Mukwikile the last son of Chitimukulu Ponde C10. (Ignoring the four old men already quoted.) After Mukwikile the descent drops to the sons of the reigning Chitimukulu D1. The eldest available son of Chitimukulu D1 (the eldest in age is a simpleton) is Chief Mporokoso and he will not leave that post for Mubanga, and it may be doubted whether he would become Makasa, although that post does carry more honour. But the Makasa does not carry such a big salary as Mporokoso.

Next come Chisangaponde, Chipalo and Menga, and they, if tradition had been followed, should have been offered the Mubanga in 1939 in turn if Mukwikile did not take it. But when Mubanga made his ill-fated attempt to inherit Makasa, the vacant post of Mubanga was not even offered to Mukwikile as it should have been. What happened was that Chitimukulu D1 and Mwamba D3 had an argument. Quite a frequent occurrence. Chitimukulu D1 had earlier broken an old tradition by sending one of his sons to be Mporokoso instead of allowing Mwamba D3 to send of of his (see later). So Mwamba D3 now claimed the right to send one of his sons to Chitimukulu's side of the country. Chitimukulu D1 agreed and allowed Mwamba D3 to appoint a Mubanga. Mwamba D3 sent his eldest son who was at the time holding a minor post as Lwali in Mporokoso. (On the recommendation of the Superior Native Authority this petty post of Lwali was then abolished.) When the spirits decided that Ponde C10's son was the wrong man this young Lwali Mwamba left his newly acquired post of Mubanga and became

Misengo, a post vacated by that chief becoming Makasa. Chief Mukwikile should have been offered the Mubanga, and that he was not is due to the reasons mentioned above, and is also perhaps an example of another tendency we must note—that reigning chiefs always push their own sons at the expense of the sons of deceased chiefs. This is not a bad proceeding sometimes from the point of view of Government as it tends to foster the appointment of younger men. 622 644

Enough has been said to indicate how the Makasa is inherited and that in future whether the descent follows tradition depends upon whether the post carries a bigger salary than the heir is getting. It has much honour attached to it which may weight the scale on borderline cases.

The descent at the time of writing is as follows: Makasa when he dies should be followed by Mubanga although Mubanga is older in years than Makasa and he may die first. Then should come Mukwikile. Then follow the sons of Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1. They at the time of writing hold the following posts: Mporokoso, Chisangaponde, Chipalo, Menga. If none of these want the post then the line goes to the sons of the reigning Mwamba D3—Munkonge and Misengo. So goes the succession by tradition, but should Chitimukulu and Council wish to push younger men at the expense of sons of deceased chiefs such acts have historical justification.

An important point to remember about tracing the correct succession through the sons is that the senior son following Makasa does not always bear the same name. For instance, the two senior men now are Tungati and Muchereka but when they die it is most probable that they will be replaced by young sons of reigning chiefs and the chieftainships of Muchereka and Tungati may thus change from being senior to being very junior.

The table of the sons at the end shows their succession and the seniority.

Section 5.—OTHER ROYAL CHIEFS.

565 622 The sons of the sisters of royal chiefs are, of course, all royal—*benang'andu*—themselves. And scattered throughout Bemba area are several chieftainships held by men of royal blood but who are only vaguely connected with the present reigning families. These are Chimbola, Mfungo, Nkweto and Mwaba. In the past there were many more, all descended from young royal sisters but none of them, for various reasons discussed earlier, being allowed to enter into the main succession.

The succession in all lines is simple. Each is a self-contained family following a direct matrilineal line, the chief being succeeded normally by brothers or maternal nephews. It is necessary to say briefly how these families obtained their posts as abolition of minor chiefs is a Superior Native Authority policy, and their importance may decide their fate.

Chimbola.

613 622 I have already dealt at length with this chieftainship which is the relic of an earlier Paramount lineage. Some people thus refer to it as more senior than the present lineage. It is, of course, in point of age but its importance has lapsed. It is an ever-present example of how the different branches of the clan do sometimes successfully cast each other from the long possession of good posts. All that need be said of it now is that should any amalgamation of small chiefs take place in this area, Chimbola should be regarded as senior or more important than Chisangaponde, Mfungo, Fwangila or Changala.

Mfungo.

This line is of an unimportant scion of the Chimbola branch. It comprises a separate little line of its own with a mother of very vague descent but who is distinct from the more senior mother of Chimbola although both date from the old lineage. Although the appointment was in the hands of Chitimukulu he always kept the post to its own little line. The present Mfungo is grandson to the last one. The post has already been reduced to that of a village headman. There has been trouble recently between Mfungo and Chisangaponde because the latter has retained his chieftainship and Mfungo, of the royal family, has not. Mfungo's area was absorbed by Chisangaponde. Mfungo's people have assaulted Chisangaponde's Kapasu on several occasions and perhaps Mfungo's area should have been absorbed in that of another royal chief and not in Chisangaponde's. The disputes have been going on now for several years and perhaps will only stop when Mfungo is put under another royal chief.

Nkweto.

This chief is also a *mwinang'andu* and is descended from a royal chief's sister. The first Nkweto was son of Mumbi, a young sister of Chitimukulu Katongo we Chinga, a Paramount of the old lineage. Her descendants were too far away to the right of the genealogical table to succeed to any of the main chieftainships, and they have therefore kept the line to themselves, following a true matrilineal descent. Nkweto's are succeeded by their brothers or nephews. Nkweto could be abolished as a chieftainship but geographical conditions may demand his retention.

Mwaba.

Also a *mwinang'andu* descended from Kapolyo Chibamba, a young sister of Chitimukulu Chibamba Mwase, another Paramount of the old lineage. There is a story that a Mwaba was once due to succeed a Chitimukulu but that he was away hunting when the couriers went for him. His mother sent the couriers back saying that Chitimukulus died too quickly and she would keep her sons at home. Since then the line has kept far from the main succession and descent has been separate and direct through the brothers and nephews. There was one interruption. Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 killed a Mwaba and put in a nephew of his own. But this nephew became Nkula Shichansa C3 and the succession went back to the Kapolyo family. 613 622

This is a minor chieftainship and could be abolished on the death of the present holder. Nkula should take over the area.

Section 6.—SONS OF ROYAL CHIEFS.

565 I have dealt with the most senior son—Makasa, and how the line of all the sons of chiefs leads up to this one chieftainship. But not all sons get 622 chieftainships as there are not enough posts to go round, so favouritism as 624 well as ability are factors in these appointments. It does not matter whether a son is born of the head wife or of any other wife. There seems to be a vague system of training sons and discovering the more efficient ones. As the sons grow up into youths they are given sections of the chief's village (*fitente*) to look after. Then as they pass to manhood the better ones are made village headmen. So when a chief's appointment comes vacant there is some indication of the abilities of the sons.

557 I give a table of sons holding posts.[1] This shows their seniority, but 622 not their status which in most cases cannot be assessed. As the table shows, not all sons hold posts and it is not always the older sons who get them. They may be passed over in favour of younger sons, and once passed over it is unlikely that they will get a post in the future. Names, as usual, mean nothing. A son takes the seniority of his father, but as I tell now, such seniority may get him nowhere, for the following tendencies and facts affect the succession of sons of chiefs:

(*a*) In addition to Chitimukulu and Mwamba only Nkula and Makasa seem to have had the power to creat chieftainships for their sons and to appoint successors.

(*b*) There was and still is a tendency for the reigning chiefs to push their own sons at the expense of the sons of dead chiefs although the latter are most probably senior. This tendency perhaps Government should support as it leads to the appointment of younger men.

(*c*) In the past, the sons of Chitimukulu were given the eastern chieftainships—Chisangaponde, Mukwikile, Mubanga and Makasa. The sons of Mwamba went to the west—Mporokoso, Sunkutu, Lwali, Chipalo, Tungati, Muchereka, Munkonge, Misengo, Kasonka, Luchembe, Lukaka. The sons of Nkula kept to the east of Chambeshi.

I want now to discuss these three tendencies in detail.

(*a*) Appointment of Sons.

I have discussed in Section 2 the powers of Nkula in connection with the appointment of his sons. The most recent evidence of them is in the appointment of his son as regent to Lukaka. The first Lukaka was allied to the old defunct Shimumbi line for he was a son of Shilukamba Chikwanda the founder of that temporary branch of chieftainship. The second Lukaka was son of Chitimukulu Chikwanda C6 and this son is alive to-day. He is very old and the appointment of a son of the present Nkula D14 as regent is quite valid. The Lukaka is in the area of Nkula's influence and is not

[1] [cat. 116, pp. [52-53]. —Analyst]

established either as a separate line contained in itself or in the line of promotion to other chieftainships. It may be a redundant chieftainship as it has not had much genealogical continuity. 557 622

Makasa once had seven appointments in his hands. Four of them were in Mambwe country and have already been abolished so we need not worry about them. He still has three—Changala, Chilangwa and Fwangila. These form a little line of their own, each one moving up as one dies and the lowest post, Fwangila, is filled by the son of the most senior Makasa, living or dead, in the usual way. These three are sometimes *lumbwe* (a man who marries either a royal chief's daughter or a royal chief's sister). The late Changala was husband to Mukukamfumu Mandeehanda C5 and is father of Nkula D14 and Chikwanda D15 and two daughters. The late Chilangwa too was married to a daughter of Mwamba. None of the three at the moment are *lumbwe*. No more need be said about this line except to say that it is ripe for abolition. By tradition the chief's areas should be merged with that of their father Makasa but geography may demand that one or more go to Chimbola. Kaliminwa is also connected with Makasa since he is usually Chilangwa's son, therefore grandson to Makasa (see later).

In the past, a daughter of Chitimukulu, called Namponda, had an area in the Abercorn district and Makasa always appointed one of his sons as *lumbwe* to her.

This brief outline of the power once possessed by Makasa as an appointer of chiefs shows how his importance in this respect has gradually become less.

A newcomer on the scene as the appointer of other chiefs was Nkolemfumu Mbonkali D5. He appointed or perhaps pressed the appointment of his own son as Masongo. But this is quite a new proceeding and was perhaps solely due to the personal influence of the Nkolemfumu. Never before in this lineage had an Nkolemfumu succeeded in getting a son appointed to a chieftainship. The previous Masongo was son of Mwamba Mubanga C2 and the one before that a son of Chitimukulu. Masongo is one of the smaller, unimportant chieftainships and may not last.

(*b*) Sons of Reigning Chiefs.

About this subject, little need be said. A glance at the table will show that there are many sons of royal chiefs who have never obtained posts, and those who are left as sons of an earlier generation are never likely to become chiefs now. We can see the tendency of reigning chiefs to push their own sons at the expense of those of dead chiefs working in many appointments. The latest one was the sending of Mwamba D3's son Lwali to be Mubanga ahead of Mukwikile although, as told later, there was another reason attached. As a Chitimukulu or Mwamba dies his sons often stay where they are without any further promotion. The present Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1 has about fourteen sons and four of them already have posts. Of Mwamba V D3's four sons two have posts, but with the abolition of the Sunkutu there are two left without posts. Should then both Chitimukulu D1 and Mwamba D3 both die shortly, they will leave between them at least twelve sons without posts. It will be interesting to see how they will fare against the claims of the many sons of Nkolemfumu D6 and Mpepo D10. I think Nkolemfumu Mbonkali D5's one son without a post is already out of the running as he is old.

(c) Territorial Traditions.

557 622 643

This guiding rule of east and west appointments has also broken down, but only of recent years, and there are only three instances of it so far. Mporokoso is the senior of all posts traditionally in the hands of Mwamba. It differs from Makasa in that the Makasa can be held by the senior son whether he was son of Chitimukulu or Mwamba or Nkula. But in the Mporokoso succession only the sons of Mwambas were considered in the past. So that when an Mporokoso died in 1933, the line of heirs ran as follows: Tungati, Luchembe, Lukaka and Misengo (now Makasa). But Chitimukulu D1 appointed his eldest son Chisangaponde. He was thus pressing his own son at the expense of the sons of dead chiefs and also breaking the rule of direction for the first time. In return in 1939 Mwamba claimed the Mubanga for Lwali as we have said. The high salary of Mporokoso no doubt affected Chitimukulu's desire to put his son in the post. The third instance is the history of the son of Chitimukulu who is now Chipalo. When the minor post of Kasonka became vacant by that man becoming Chisangaponde, a son of the present Chitimukulu D1 called Sampa, was put in. When Chipalo died in 1937, Kasonka Sampa was made Chipalo and the Superior Native Authority took the opportunity of deleting the Kasonka as a chieftainship.

It seems from these three modern instances that the old rule of direction is being abandoned and I see no point in laying any emphasis on it in the future. It is obvious that salaries will have a greater influence on appointments in the future and I think the appointments of such sons as are left, after a campaign of amalgamation, can be trusted to Chitimukulu and Mwamba and the councillors. If there is quarrelling then the above list of control of appointments may be useful. Why Mwamba should have had a longer list of appointments than Chitimukulu I can only surmise. Of course, when the Mwamba becomes Chitimukulu he often finds his sons holding posts whose future succession is in the hands of another Mwamba so the distinction is not really important. I have already described how various Mwambas were noted warriors and when an area had been conquered from another tribe it was natural for the victorious Mwamba to put in one of his own sons to hold it. Mwambas such as Kapalaula B3 and Mubanga Chipoya C2 were certainly better fighters than many Paramounts and that is perhaps why their influence spread rapidly and they were able to appoint so many sons to newly won areas.

(d) Further Individual Details.

Before leaving this Section, I should give a little more information about some chieftainships.

The death of Mporokoso will lead to a good deal of discussion. In the past, the Sunkutu was considered the stepping-stone to the Mporokoso but the post was abolished with the death of the last Sunkutu. Chitimukulu D1 sent his son Chisangaponde II to be Mporokoso but Mwamba D3 sent a son to become Sunkutu. He is now a village headman but the Council obviously intend to keep the name as a stepping-stone. If then the Chitimukulu of the day keeps the appointment to the post he may try to put his own son in as at present. The more senior sons of a Chitimukulu, such as Chipalo, may claim it. On the other hand, if Mwamba claims the appointment, as in the past, the present Munkonge and Misengo and Sunkutu enter the lists. These are present-day claimants but if Mporokoso goes on

for a long time, as he probably will, then the sons of future Chitimukulus or Mwambas may be old enough to claim as well as Sunkutu and the others mentioned. In any case, I think there will be a dispute over his succession with Sunkutu and nominees of Chitimukulu and Mwamba, both past and present, all claiming. With precedents for the appointment of sons of either Chitimukulu or Mwamba or of Sunkutu alone the case will clearly be one when Government will be able to step in and choose the best man available from the claimants. The Mporokoso is now ranked fourth in salary among all Bemba chiefs both royal and otherwise. This status and importance is based on the large size of his area and population and corresponds with his traditional place in the heirarchy. It is thus a most important chieftainship from territorial and political viewpoints. The area is one of the most remote from central Lubemba and was conquered from the Lungu and Tabwa by Mwamba Kapalaula B3. It was essential to have a strong man to look after such a large outlying area so Kapalaula B3 put in a son Chinga who soon successfully killed off all opposition. When he died he was followed by Lombe, another son of Mwamba Kapalaula B3 and this man took the title of Mporokoso (he who cuts off ears—of enemies). Kapalaula B3 was a most fertile father and after Lombe there followed three more of his sons, each succeeding the other. These were Katuna, Mushidi and Sunkutu I and they were respectively Mporokoso II, III, IV. Then the sequence was broken, as described earlier, by Chitimukulu D1 sending his son to be Mporokoso V. He is the fifth of that name although the area has had six rulers. 622

The most recent of the chieftainships of sons is that of Chisangaponde. The first was Chisanga, son of the Chitimukulu Ponde C10. He was given an area by his father. When Makasa died about 1922, the Mubanga of the day moved up and then Chisangaponde I become Mubanga and he is still there to-day. I discussed earlier his attempt in 1940 to become Makasa. When he became Mubanga he was followed by Chief Kasonka who was promoted to be Chisangaponde II. This man is a son of the present Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1 and when Mporokoso died in 1933 Chisangaponde II took that post. Another son, who had no previous post, then became Chisangaponde III.

In any amalgamation in this area Chisangaponde must be regarded as much junior and lower in status than Chimbola.

Tungati is the third of the name and he is very old now. The first was son of Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 and the second and third both sons of Mwamba Kapalaula B3.

Luchembe is the first of that name. He took over the area when it was conquered from the Bisa, and he is now very old.

Muchereka is only the second of the name. The first was a son of Mwamba wa Kabwe of the old lineage.

Chipalo is the second of the name. The first was the son of Mwamba I Mutale Mulenga A4.

Munkonge is the fourth of the line. The first was the son of Mwamba Kashampupo of the old lineage. The second was the son of Mwamba Kapalaula B3 and the third a son of Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4.

622 Mukwikile is the third of the name. The first was the son of Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 and the second was a son of Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2.

The above few historical details give some indication of the age and traditions of the smaller chieftainships of the sons and their status might be gauged from the seniority of the father of the first of the name. But this is a very vague proceeding and their modern status and value to the Native Authority, which can be seen from the list of salaries in the Appendix, is much more important now than obscure genealogical seniority. This latter factor is still important in the royal lines but as regards the sons I think the size of area and population, upon which the salaries are roughly based, can be considered more than traditional status in any re-organisation.

Section 7.—OTHER CHIEFS.

The following chiefs do not fit into particular branch of the hierarchy and deserve a special section. 622

(a) Chief Shimwalule.

I have dealt at length with this man in a published work (6). He is undertaker to the Royal Chiefs and perhaps should not be ranked as a chief himself. The succession is through members of the *Bena* totem and the line is disjointed as well as distinct. I need say little more here. Shimwalule should retain a salary as undertaker and priest to the royal chiefs and his area could be administered by Nkweto. 622 767

In the past a Shimwalule could only bury one Paramount although he was allowed to bury any number of the other few chiefs eligible to rest in the grove at Mwaule. He usually retired when a Paramount died after he had already buried one but there was such competition for this once valuable post that many Shimwalules were killed off by other claimants. But a tendency is now appearing for the Shimwalule to become more permanent. The last one buried Paramount Chikwanda C6 and then later showed himself willing to bury another one, Ponde C10. But he died mysteriously after receiving the body of Ponde C10 at the Chambeshi river. The present Shimwalule luckly happened (!) to be close by and he took over the ceremony. In spite of this unfortunate death the Shimwalule at the moment seems to be willing to take a risk and try to bury his second Paramount, Kanyanta D1. For he has not yet retired from his post and there is talk that the old custom may lapse.

(b) Chief Kabwibwi.

When Chileshe Chepela A2 was born with his shortened and deformed arm his mother refused to give him milk and a foster mother was found. Later, when Chileshe A2 became Paramount he made the son of his foster mother into Chief Kabwibwi and gave him a country. Descent is direct through the brothers and nephews and is another of the self contained lines. But there is a particular link with the Paramount for Kabwibwi gives one of his daughters to Chitimukulu as a wife and Chitimukulu sends one of his daughters to be a wife of Kabwibwi. 622

(c) Chief Kaliminwa.

This chief is a *lumbwe* who is always married to a daughter of Mwamba. She is known as Nakabwe and marries the commoner whom Government deal with as Chief Kaliminwa. The first Kaliminwa was an ordinary man with no connection with any chief. The second, Mutale, was his nephew who was son to Chilangwa, Chilangwa having married Kaliminwa's sister. The third, still living to-day, is also a son of Chilangwa and it is said that the tradition is now established that Kaliminwa must be a son of Chilangwa.

When a Nakabwe dies Mwamba sends another daughter, and when in the late 1930's he could only send a young girl the elder wives objected to such a young head wife and they left Kaliminwa in disgust. But they soon returned.

622 Mporokoso's area adjoins Kaliminwa and there has often been friction between the two chiefs. Kaliminwa's area is rich in elephants but a *lumbwe* was not allowed to keep the tusks. He had to send them to Mwamba. The Kaliminwa who died in 1934 had quarelled often with Mporokoso and always refused to send him elephant meat. So Mporokoso asked the Paramount not to send a *lumbwe* to inherit but to send a proper chief with whom he could get on well. The Paramount broke traditions and sent Musenga D6 who was then Mpepo. The Kaliminwa's salary is higher than the Mpepo. There was a good deal of tribal argument and eventually Mpepo D6 had to return and a *lumbwe* again took the post. It was said that a *mwinang'andu* should not take an area that is not and never had been royal. Had a son been sent he would probably have been allowed to stay.

(*d*) Chief Musanya.

A very odd chieftainship that does not seem to have any claims for survival. The first Musanya was a son of a Chewe (the chieftainship of the old house of Nkula now abolished). This Musanya was sent to his present area to look after the "Banyika" (people of the plains). He was succeeded by his cousin who was a son of Chitimukulu Chileshe A2, and this son later became Mubanga and finally Makasa. He was succeeded by his son who is thus the third Musanya and is still alive to-day. He should be the last of this line and the area should be taken by Nkweto.

(*e*) Chief Menga.

Another odd chieftainship that does not fall in with any of the main sections. It was the last of all existing chieftainships to be created. Menga I was the youngest brother of the present Chitimukulu by name Mbonkali D8. The chieftainship was made for him and he later became Mpepo and then Nkolemfumu. He was of course of royal blood—*mwinang'andu*. But when he left to become Mpepo he was succeeded by Chief Kasonka, son of Mwamba Chileshe wa Milenge of the old lineage. This Kasonka had become a very minor chieftainship in Luwingu so it was promotion to become Menga II. He was old when moved to his new post and died in 1937. Again there was no continuity in the post for Chitimukulu D1 this time put one of his sons in as Menga III who is there to-day.

Such a chieftainship with no continuity to guide succession and with a very small area could cease to be recognised.

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3. One early history is given by Father Labrecque in "La Tribu des Babemba I" Anthropos. Vol. 28, 1933.

4. A version is given in "Kasembe and the Bemba Nation" by W. C. Robertson. Journal of the African Society, 1904.

5. Coxhead has some interesting remarks on the Chitimukulu and Mwamba relationship in—"The Native Tribes of N.E. Rhodesia." Occasional Paper No. 5. Royal Anthropological Institute, 1912.

6. W. V. Brelsford—"Shimwalule: Study of a Bemba Chief and Priest." African Studies. September, 1942.

APPENDIX.

For ease of reference I give below the complete list of Bemba chieftainships as gazetted by Government at the moment, and also the salaries they draw from the Bemba Treasury. Those in brackets have been mentioned in this paper but have been deleted as chieftainships. 622 554

It is not possible to give a complete list in order of status, with the exception of the first three chiefs who definitely are, in order, Chitimukulu, Mwamba and Nkula. [643]

In actual honour all *besang'anda* would follow before the sons. Makasa is the first of the sons. But in fact, apart from the first three royal chiefs, it is difficult to say whether any more chiefs can be ranked at all permanently by name according to status. A temporary list might be prepared for the *besang'anda* but any deaths might alter it. The sons might be arranged in order of seniority from the age of their fathers but that too would be altered by deaths, and moreover the sons, apart from Makasa, are not traditionally graded in honour at all. Their salaries should thus go with their population and work.

I put in this note as sometimes Chitimukulu is asked, for Treasury purposes, for a list of chiefs in order of status. It has differed every time, and, apart from the first three, it cannot really be given.

Kasama District.

	£		£
Chitimukulu	140	Menga	10
Mwamba	84	Misengo	8
Nkolemfumu	24	Changala	10
Makasa	30	Chilangwa	8
Chimbola	10	Chisangaponde ...	6
Munkonge	30	(Mfungo)	3
Kabwibwi	10		

Chinsali District.

	£
Nkula	48
Mubanga	14
Mukwikile	8
Shimwalule	8
Nkweto	8
Mwaba	6
Musanya	6

Mpika District.

	£
Chikwanda ...	30
Mpepo	15
Lachembe	9
Masongo	8
Lukaka	8

Luwingu District.

	£
Shimwambi	18
Chipalo	18
Tungati	18
Muchereka	12
(Kaseonka)	—

Mporokoso District.

	£
Mporokoso	42
Kalimiwa ...	24
(Bunkuta)	6

Kawambwa District.

	£
(Lwali)	—

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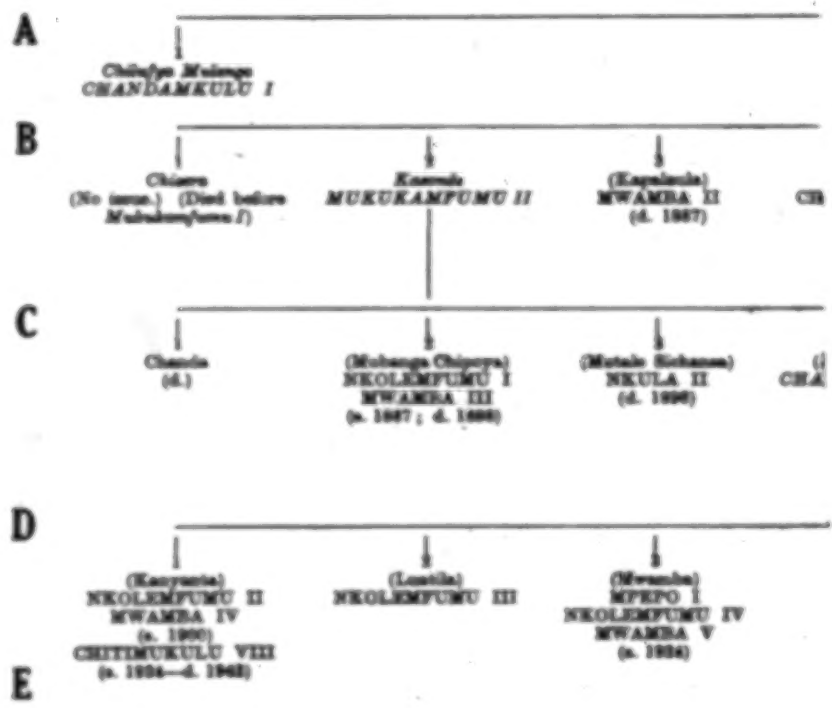

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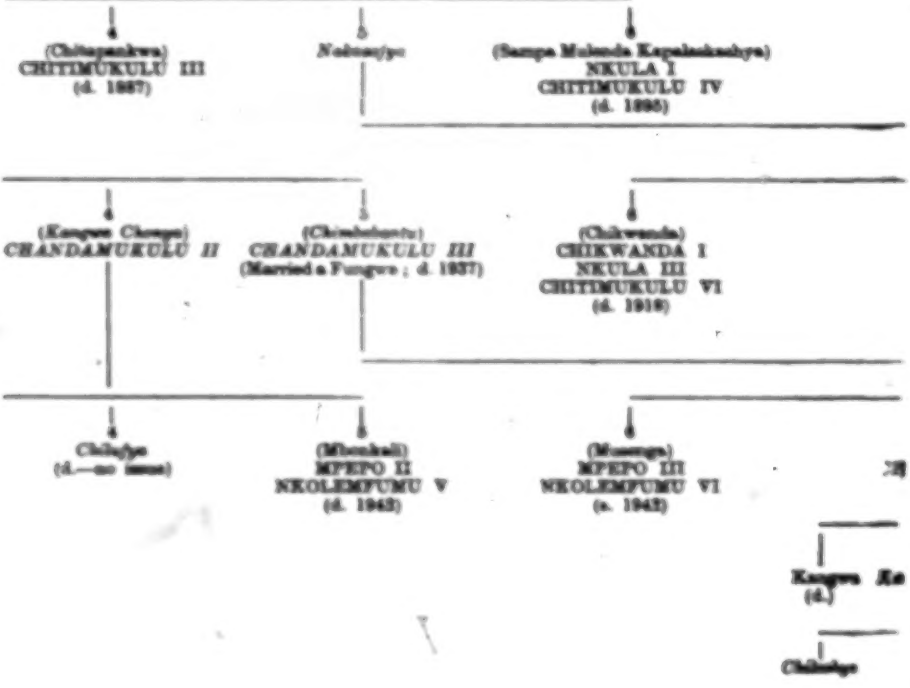

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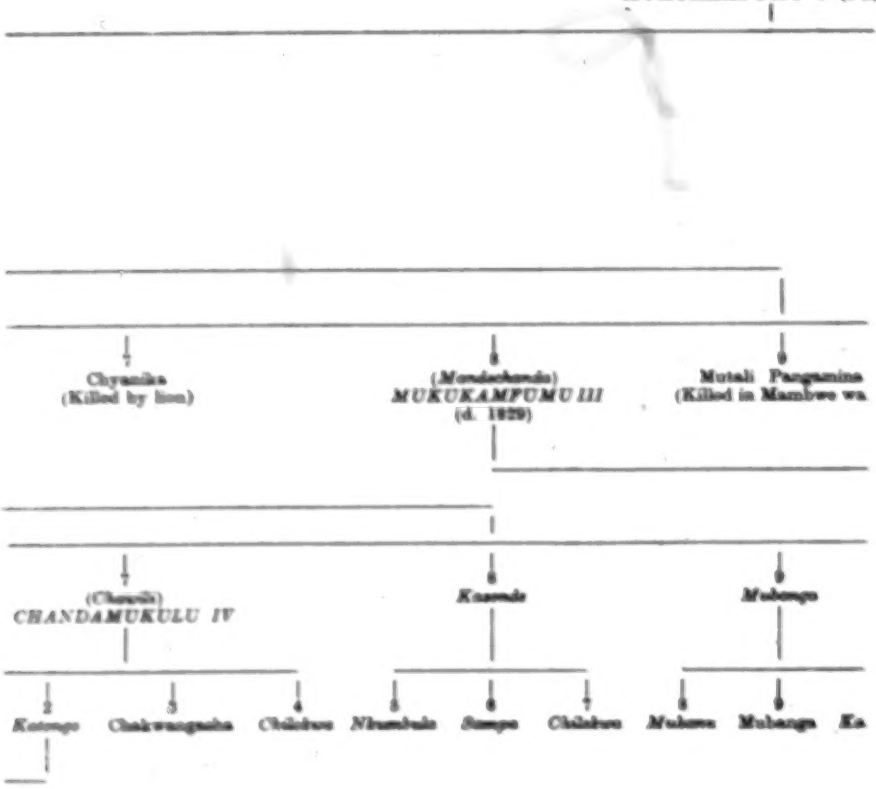
the Bemba Royal House showing the issue th



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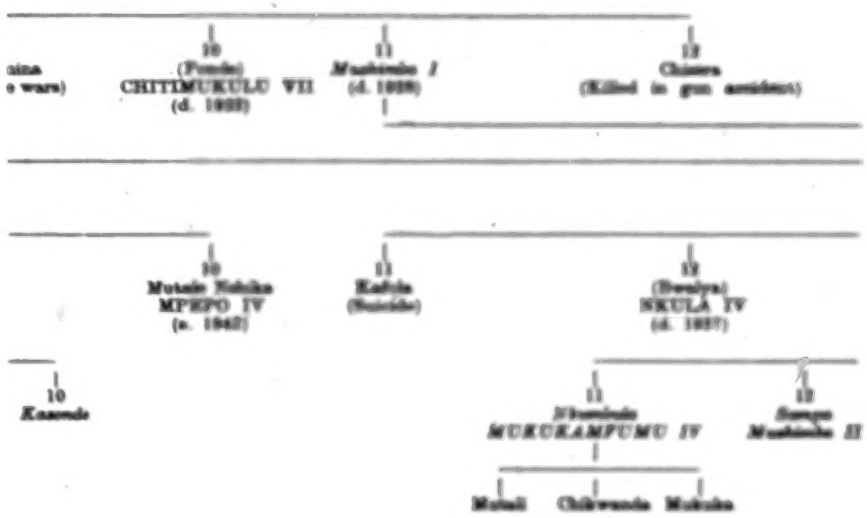
through the female line (in Italic.) Chi

(Female.)



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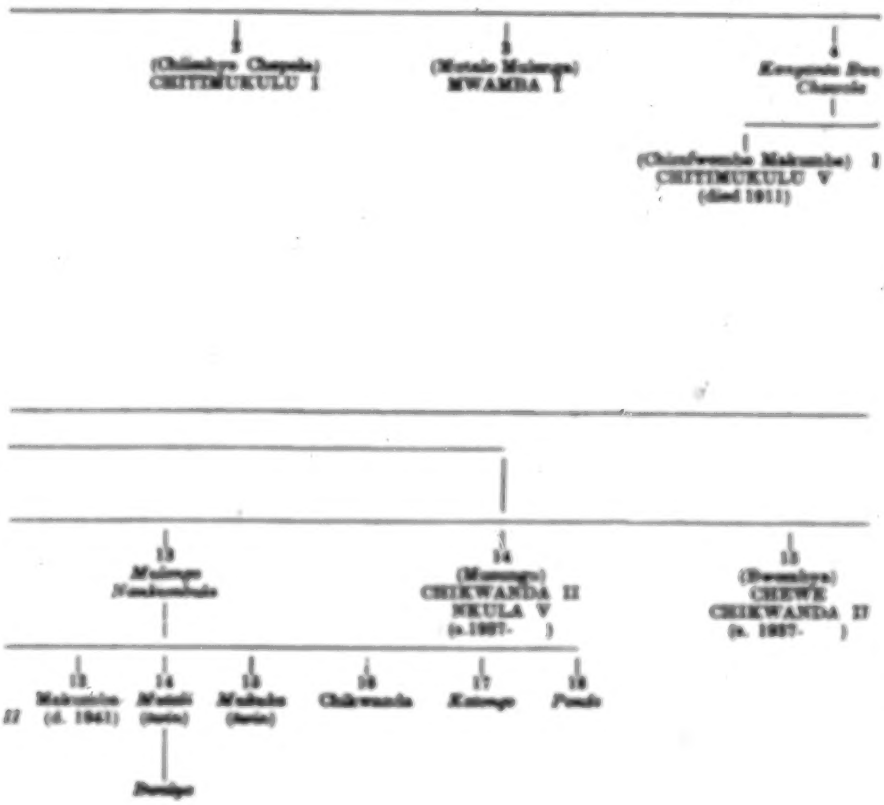

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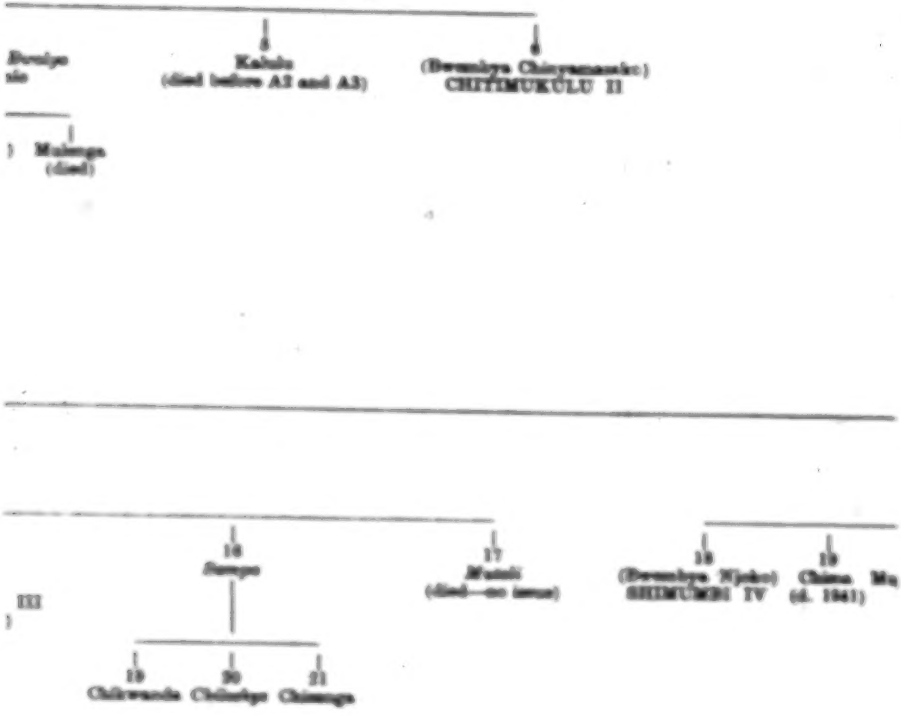

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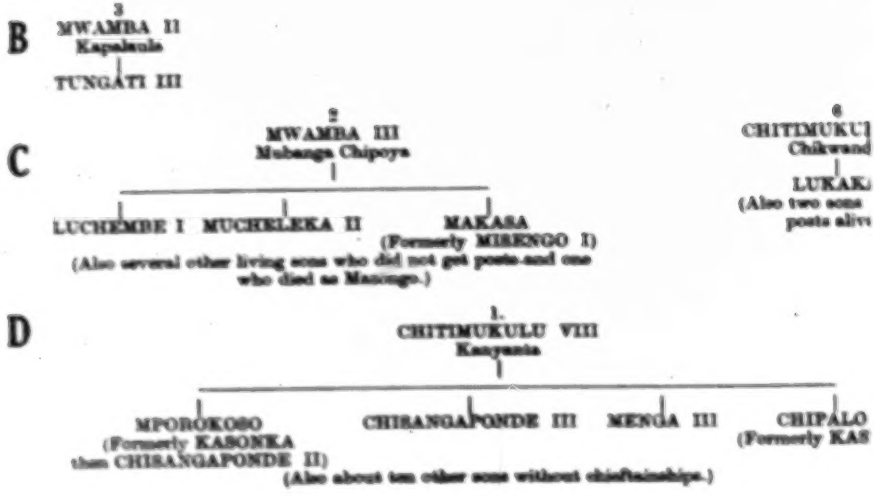

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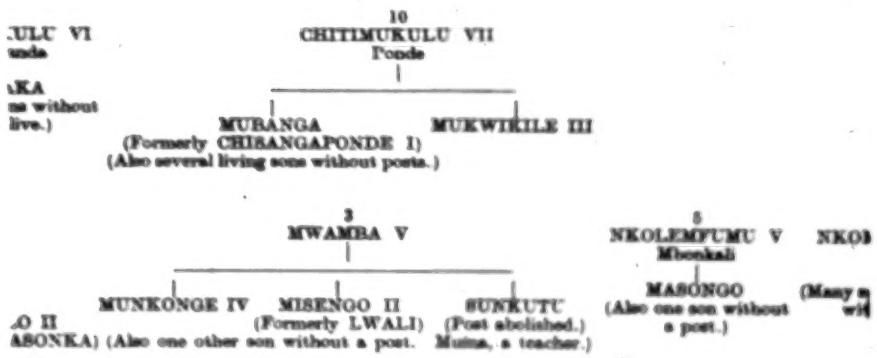
TABLE OF SONS OF CHIEFS.

Showing only Sons with posts in 1943.
Letters and numbers correspond with those of the main table.



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8	10	12	14
NKOLEMFUMU VI	MPEPO III	NKULA IV	NKULA V
Musenga	Mutali	Bwalya	Musunga
(Many sons alive. None with posts yet.)	(Only two sons to date.)	(Has sons alive but none with posts.)	(One son Regent to LUKAKA. Others with no post.)

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